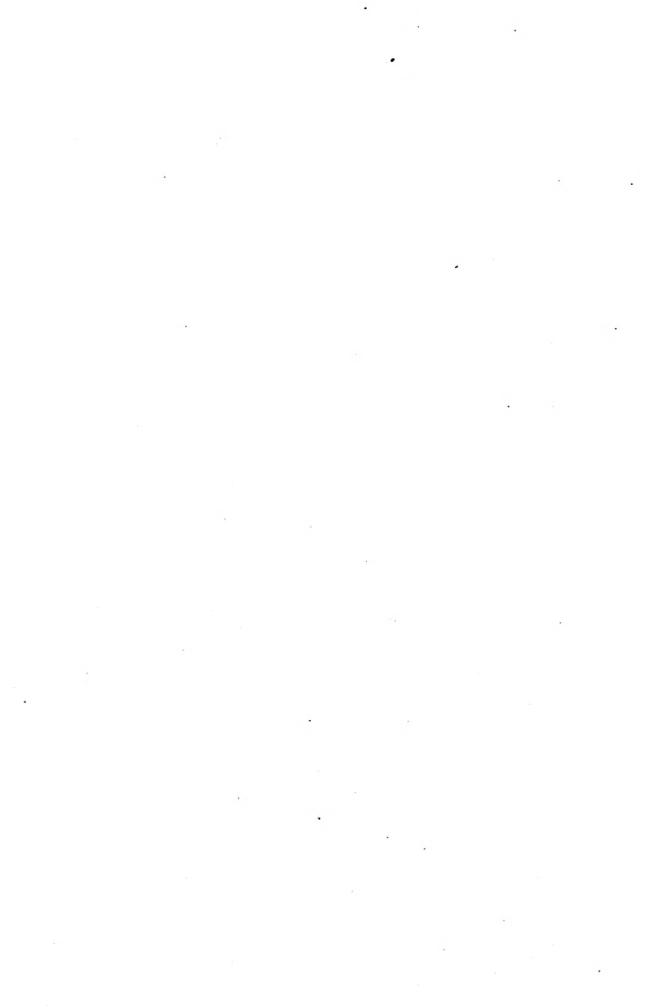


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HERMENEUTICS

OF

THE NEW TESTAMENT.

“Intelligere scriptorem is dicendus est, qui idem quod ille dum scribebat, cogitavit, legens cogitat.”—A. Kuenen.

HERMENEUTICS
OF THE
NEW TESTAMENT.

BY
DR. A. IMMER,
PROFESSOR OF THEOLOGY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF BERNE.

Translated from the German by
ALBERT H. NEWMAN.



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TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

THE translation of Dr. Immer's Manual of the Hermeneutics of the New Testament is now offered to the public not as in all respects an authoritative guide in the interpretation of the New Testament, but rather as an exposition of the principles that have guided the German exegesis of the present generation, and that have done so much for the ascertaining of the exact historical sense of the sacred writings. Like the exegesis itself, this exposition of the principles of recent critical exegesis contains, side by side with much that is of the greatest value, much that is in the highest degree erroneous; and as in the former, so in the latter, we must, if we would gain profit from its perusal, bring to bear upon it a sound criticism of our own, rejecting what is erroneous, while we learn from it, and accepting gratefully what commends itself to us as true.

In many cases we have expressed in the notes dissent from statements in the text; yet it is not to be inferred that we accept as our own all that is not thus expressly rejected. To have criticised all the views that are subject to criticism would have required more space and more labor than could have been bestowed.

With regard to the work of translation, it has been attempted, as far as practicable, while adhering rigidly to the original, to reproduce the meaning in idiomatic English. In some instances, to avoid circumlocution, slightly Teutonic expressions have been admitted. The German language, like the Greek, possesses a number of light particles that have no precise equivalent in English, and seem sometimes better untranslated. In some instances such words have been omitted; in most instances they have been rendered into their nearest equivalent, even when slight awkwardness was involved. The author frequently employs *gläubig* sneeringly to describe the conservative theologians of the present time. The designation has usually been rendered "orthodox." *Tendenziöse* is a term that has become very common in Germany to describe the Tübingen criticism, and has arisen from the lengths to which theologians of this school have shown themselves ready to go, to establish the hypothesis that the New Testament writings arose out of conflicting tendencies in the early church and efforts to bring about compromises between these factions. The word has been transferred in the translation under the form "tendential."

The paragraph headings and the side summaries were introduced at the suggestion of Professor Thayer, and of Mr. Draper, the publisher. For this and other suggestions the translator is deeply indebted to both these gentlemen.

While he has labored for correctness, the translator can hardly hope that he has absolutely avoided oversights, to say nothing of infelicities. For the pointing out of such oversights he will, of course, be grateful.

In the references given in foot-notes the object has been, for the most part, to direct the reader to treatises in which more conservative views than those in the text are presented. From the frequent reference to this work the reader cannot fail to observe the high estimate that the translator puts upon *Smith's Dictionary of the Bible*, especially the greatly improved edition of *Hackett and Abbot*. It is a pleasure to know that *Herzog's* illustrious and invaluable *Real-Encyclopädie* is being brought out in a greatly improved edition. The English-reading world is being overwhelmed with Commentaries. In addition to the translations that have appeared and are appearing of the Commentaries of Olshausen, Tholuck, Keil and Delitzsch, Lange, Meyer, Godet, etc., the Bible (or Speaker's) Commentary, proceeding from the highest Church of England authorities, exceedingly conservative, and in many respects very valuable, is appearing. A Commentary of high character on the whole of the New Testament, to be edited by President Alvah Hovey, D.D., LL.D., and to be prepared by the ablest Baptist scholars in America, is announced for publication by the American Baptist Publication Society. All this, together with the numberless individual enterprises, shows an immense activity among the English and

Americans in biblical studies. May the time soon come when the scholars of these countries shall cease to be borrowers more than lenders.

In the notes in which the names of some American scholars are mentioned it was not meant to depreciate those that are not mentioned. A number of others just as able — some who are known by their writings, some who are not thus known — might have been added in each instance.

In conclusion, the book is sent forth with the hope that the truths that it contains may contribute to the progress of biblical learning in our land, and that the errors may be useful by being brought out clearly and without disguise. To combat errors successfully in their concrete form, it is highly important that we know the abstract principles on which they rest.

A. H. NEWMAN.

ROCHESTER, N. Y., May 1877.

PREFACE.

WHETHER a work on New Testament Hermeneutics, such as I here offer to the scientific public, is, after so many performances of this kind, a desideratum, and whether this work corresponds to the desideratum and to the cherished expectations, others will decide. After what has been accomplished in this department since Ernesti, by Keil, Döpke, Pareau, Klausen, Lutz, Schleiermacher (ed. Lücke), Lücke himself, Davidson, and Wilke, — not to speak of Olshausen and R. Stier — a work like mine might in fact be designated as something superfluous. It might even be shown that on the principles and the methods of biblical exegesis perfect unanimity has long prevailed among all respectable interpreters.

On the other hand, I will not refer to the unnumbered differences in the conception of many passages; for despite all that the best hermeneutics may ever accomplish, men will never come to perfect certainty and unanimity; but I will point to the great questions still continually in dispute, whether the so-called theological or the grammatico-historical interpretation should have the precedence in the exegetical pro-

cedure, whether in the exegetical procedure a definite theory on Scripture should or should not be made the basis.

As regards the literature in this field of inquiry, the treatises of Schleiermacher and Lutz, as is well-known, are opera posthuma, and the excellent men, if they had wished to commit these works to publicity, would have found many things to be filed down, some to be expressed more clearly and unambiguously. Nevertheless, the hermeneutical writings of these two men have their great value; that of Schleiermacher is full of genial thoughts and brilliant *aperçus*, as is everything that proceeded from this great theologian; that of Lutz, my never-to-be-forgotten teacher, is distinguished for philological accuracy, theological depth, and practical substantiality.¹ But as the former is defective in accurate proofs and in substantiality, so the latter — apart from the faultiness of form — bears in itself the coloring of its time, inasmuch as it could have regard only to the phenomena of the first four decades of the present century. The same may be said of Lücke's *Hermeneutik*, which took a decidedly anti-rationalistic attitude without being able to have regard to the opposite errors that have since come forward.² With *Klausen* the history of hermeneutics takes up so much space, that hermeneutics itself can be treated only in a sketchy

¹ It gives me pleasure to have found in Diestel (*Gesch. des A.T.*, 632) a full recognition of the work of my honored teacher.

² This latter Lücke did accomplish to some extent at a later period, in his *Christmas Programme* of 1853.

and formal way. Finally, with reference to the two works of *Wilke* ("Neutestamentliche Rhetorik" and "Hermeneutik des Neuen Testamentes"), it may be said that they are both noted for rich materials and great rigor; yet the "Rhetoric" suffers from an almost hair-splitting subtlety, and the "Hermeneutics" in its doctrinal part lacks substantiality, and has entered too little upon fundamental questions.

Attempting, as I now do, to supply the defects mentioned, and to obviate the errors and distortions that have appeared in this department, especially in more recent times, and which even now lay claim to a sort of monopoly, I owe the reader an account of the principles that have guided me. The history of Scripture interpretation from the beginning down to the present day teaches that all differences in the treatment of Scripture have proceeded from *different views of Scripture itself*, and that these may be reduced to two fundamental aspects — the dogmatic and the historical. Proceeding now as, according to my firm conviction, we must proceed from the *historical* aspect, and hence regarding exegesis as in the first instance a historical science, we do not wish to be understood as implying that in the Scriptures we have to do merely with the *opinions* of the Hebrews and of the early Christians, but that the eternal and saving truth itself, appearing as it does in national, temporal, and individual forms, *has a history*, and that the revelation from which the Scriptures sprung, as well as the Scriptures themselves,

in their totality as in their individual parts, are a historical fact. To understand this fact, to think himself into the same, renouncing all traditional or subjective prepossessions, is the interpreter's task, and to make this task plain in its various aspects was my endeavor. But if the various methods of interpretation may be referred to the various views of Scripture, these views themselves rest — as I am convinced — on the difference of opinion on the question: how the *religious* interest is to be related to the *scientific* work of the interpreter. Hence, on the one hand the demand that the Scriptures be regarded as a *holy book*,¹ to the neglect of the historical realities that yet meet the interpreter at every step; on the other hand, the demand that the latter moment should constitute the interpreter's essential work, and that the religious contents should either be entirely neglected or be brought forward as a mere idea of the time. It seemed justifiable to me, therefore, to devote a section to the fundamental question as to the relation of the religious to the scientific in the treatment of Scripture.

But if, now, a hermeneutical treatise resting on this principal point of view is to be fruitful, it must not move on the field of mere theory, nor bring mere abstract recepta to the treatment of this or that critical or exegetical difficulty, but it must be as *substantial* as possible, and this not only through collecta on the linguistic usage of the different New Testament authors,

¹ Gotterfüllt — God-filled, through and through divine. — **Tr.**

such as have been made with approximate completeness by Wilke, but also and chiefly through practical attention to the application of the most important exegetical rules. These examples could have been multiplied, but I refrained from adding to them not merely with a view not to allow my book to swell to too great a bulk, but also in order to leave room for the young exegetes to apply the hermeneutical principles independently to other passages.

The design to make my text-book useful even for beginners in exegesis necessitated the introduction of much that is self-intelligible to more practised theologians, and to those that have made a specialty of this department. In general to students and to practical clergymen it offers much, as I hope, that they can use, but to professional theologians very little. For the former, therefore, is my book chiefly intended.

I regret that *Weiffenbach's* "Zukunftsgedanke Jesu," *Gebhardt's* "Lehrbegriff der Apokalypse," *Hausrath's*, continuation of his New Testament History under the title "Die Zeit der Martyrer und das nachapostolische Zeitalter," as well as *Rénan's* "L'Antichrist," came too late to be of service in the preparation of this work. I shall be criticised, moreover, for having made so little *special* reference to the literature of my subject; but it will at least be found that the clumsiness, which would thus have arisen, has been avoided.

Defects and imperfections, doubtless, adhere to my work, — such as I myself recognize, but cannot now

remedy, and such as will be observed by more competent judges. A real and well-grounded criticism, be it never so sharp, can be only welcome to me. But criticisms that only wrest here and there a passage out of the connection, and, according to such contrivance, pronounce upon the “orthodoxy” or the “heterodoxy” of the author, or which examine my writing with a view to ascertaining whether I belong to the right or the left or the “mediating” theology, — such criticisms must I simply consign to the waste-paper basket.

THE AUTHOR.

BERN, on the Centennial Anniversary of the
Suppression of the Order of Jesuits by Clement XIV.

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INTRODUCTION.

I. Importance of Spiritual Intercourse.

THE most important means of intellectual and moral progress is *spiritual intercourse*. Undoubtedly immediate and daily intercourse with other men guards us from narrowness and one-sidedness, enriches our store of ideas and thoughts, and tones down the asperities of our characters. Especially is this the case if he with whom we associate is a choice spirit. Such association may have for its object either *general* enrichment and elevation, or only *special* instruction. Both are necessary, and the more the special instruction received passes over into our general culture, and, *vice versa*, the more our general culture culminates in one sort of knowledge, or in one qualification, the more perfectly is the object of that enriching fulfilled. Our spiritual intercourse will consist fully as much in *reading* as in personal association. And, indeed, intercourse with eminent spirits of the past, and of antiquity, is very important, for the reason that we are thereby compelled to lose sight of the interests of the present, and to become absorbed in an altogether different circle of conceptions and interests. The interests of the present, indeed, have also their claims, and it is our duty to be concerned in these. But if he alone is worthy to be called cultivated who is not entirely absorbed in the interests of the day, but who understands remote times and interests as well, then it is a requisite of *culture* lovingly to associate with the great spirits of the past. This, indeed, constitutes in general the educating value of history, that it transposes us into various and in part remote times, and makes us,

Objects,
general and
special.

Reading.

Value of
history.

Influence of
the Scrip-
tures.

so to speak, universal men. But there is still another interest besides the general one of culture, that requires us to occupy ourselves with the spirits of the past ; many of these have exercised a strong influence on succeeding history, and will continue to exercise such an influence to the end of time. Think of the influence of Hellenism upon our aesthetic culture, of the influence of Roman law on our views of law, and the consequent importance of the sources of Roman law. No kind of literature has exercised so general and so efficient an influence on the Western nations as the Hebrew and Christian Scriptures, and this influence is permanent. Hence the great importance of *understanding* these writings.

2. Difficulty of perfect Comprehension.

Diversities
of culture,

in degree,

in kind ;

of nation-
ality.

Transla-
tion.

But important as is this understanding, it is in many respects *very difficult*. Even in personal intercourse comprehension is occasionally imperfect ; this imperfection arises now from diversity of individualities in general, now from obscurity of expression in particular ; and yet tone and gesture here aid comprehension not a little. Still more difficult is it for persons of different degrees and kinds of culture to understand each other ; the uneducated often fail to understand the educated because the latter have at their disposal a multitude of conceptions, thoughts, and expressions foreign to the former. So also it is often with great difficulty that the man of practical education and the man of liberal education understand each other perfectly, not merely because each lacks certain positive information which the other possesses, but because each is at home in a different circle of thoughts. Precise understanding also is often difficult between persons of different *nationality*. Here, of course, the chief difficulty is usually the language ; and even if the one has learned and understands the language of the other, yet it is very seldom that he possesses it as completely as his vernacular. He will often understand the other only from the point of view of his own idiom. But this is only a mediate and therefore imperfect understanding. Every linguist knows that a *good* translation from one language into another is no easy

matter, and that many apparently equivalent words in different languages are yet not precisely identical. Take, for example, the French “esprit,” and the German “Geist”; the French “raison” and the German “Vernunft.” We see this principle exemplified also in certain ideas in ecclesiastical Greek and Latin, which are indeed analogous, but which do not perfectly coincide, as *μυστήριον* and *sacramentum*, *μετάνοια* and *poenitentia*, even *πίστις* and *fides*. No man has a right to claim a true understanding of a foreign idiom who is not familiar with these finer distinctions; who, in general, is not familiar with the different *genius* of the two languages. All these difficulties are multiplied when we have to do with an *ancient* author, since here with the differences of language and of nationality are united the differences of the *time*, its conceptions and interests. We meet much, indeed, that is not foreign to us, but which, on the contrary, seems so familiar that we are tempted to transfer it *in toto* to the ideas of *our* time, or to conceive of it from our own stand-point, even when it rests upon different conditions, and stands in connection with different conceptions.

Finer
shades of
meaning.

Antiquity.

3. Interpretation, a removing of Differences.

Every interpretation, therefore, accepts as its task, *to remove the differences between us and the author*. This may be done either by transferring the author into our time, language, and modes of thought, so that we let him speak and think as if he were one of us; or by abstracting ourselves from our conceptions, from our modes of speech and thought, and by transposing ourselves into *his* time and *his* spirit. It is easy to see that the latter is the true method; yet we cannot possibly dispense with the former. Every translation, indeed, is a transferring of the author from his own language into ours; and not only into our *language*, but where it is possible into our methods of thought; but translations aside, how otherwise can we transpose ourselves into the author and his world than in thought? and *thinking* we conduct in *our own* language. It follows, that both methods must be combined, but so that we

Two
methods.

The ideally
true one.

Order of
employment.

begin with the first, and continue thus only until we are in a condition to avail ourselves of the second. Yet *how* are we to proceed in order to remove the differences between ourselves and a *given author*? Every one who has any experience in exegesis knows too that it is nowise a matter of indifference which road is taken. And since in most cases it is incumbent upon the interpreter to arrive at an understanding of the author (especially of the New Testament), not for himself only, but also *for others*, it is doubly necessary that he be in possession of the right method. From this need the science of *Hermeneutics* has arisen. Yet Hermeneutics did not then first begin to exist. Practice has always preceded theory; just as preaching was prior to Homiletics, reasoning to Logic, poetry to Poetics, so Exegesis existed before exegetical Methodics. Every sound theory presupposes practice, and is either the abstraction from the present ideal practice, as e.g. the Poetics of Aristotle, or it is the negation, drawn from manifold errors and misconceptions, of these false methods, and the setting up of their opposites. But as practice precedes every theory, so also practice precedes *all understanding and all usefulness* of the theory, and accordingly only those can derive real benefit from Hermeneutics, who already possess some experience and discipline in Exegesis.

Rise of Hermeneutics.

PART I.

THE

GENERAL PRINCIPLES OF HERMENEUTICS.

4. Controversy concerning Interpretation.

SINCE Ernesti there has been much controversy as to whether Scripture is to be interpreted according to the same principles as other literature, or whether, in consideration of the fact that the Bible is a holy and inspired book, we must here proceed according to another method. In this general form the question is not to be answered. Granted that the *spirit* of the Bible is thoroughly different from that of the Greek and Roman classics, and that the former is related to the latter as the Holy Spirit to the spirit of the world, yet no one can claim that the sacred writers could express the divine thoughts any otherwise than in *human* language, and that, too, in the language of their times and of the people for whom their writings were intended. Accordingly, the language in which the sacred authors wrote must be examined in the same way as the language of related authors. The interpreter of the Pauline Epistles, no less than the interpreter of Thucydides, Plato, and Demosthenes, needs, first of all, the grammar and the dictionary, and, as the latter, so the former, must depend upon *the linguistic usage* and *the connection* for ascertaining the sense in particular cases. Again, the sacred writers lived — it may be that they were also so inspired — in certain *national* and *historical* relations; and no less than the interpreter of Demosthenes does the interpreter of Isaiah or of Paul require for the right understanding of his author a knowl-

The spirit
different.

The
language
human.

Linguistic
usage and
connection.

National
and his-
torical rela-
tions.

Order of
sequence.

edge of the national and historical relations under which he lived. Then he must, of course, search out the peculiar spirit that animated his author. It is asked, Which ought to have precedence with the interpreter, the knowledge of the spirit or the knowledge of the human and the temporal in his author?

Human ele-
ments.

We answer, that, although with the *author* the spirit and the thought were first and the human representation second, with the *interpreter* the human expression and the temporal representation is the first, and the spirit can only be the second matter that he has to investigate. As regards the human elements, he is *bound by precisely the same laws* as the interpreter of a profane author, and so far the interpretation of Scripture is only a species of the genus "interpretation." But then it is indispensable to penetrate into the *circle of thought*

Spirit of the
Bible.

and the spirit of the writing under consideration, hence it is indispensable to penetrate into the essence and spirit as well as into the external phenomena of the Bible; and thus may be shown as well what Scripture interpretation has *in common* with all other interpretation as what it has that is *peculiar*.

Divisions.

Accordingly we treat, 1) of interpretation in general; 2) of the nature of Scripture as a special object of interpretation, and 3) of the interpretation of Scripture and its office, how this has been discovered only gradually and after manifold experiments and failures, and how it may be most successfully protected from further errors.

1. *The Office of the Interpreter in general.*

5. Differences to be removed.

Language.

To explain an author is, *to remove the difference between him and us*. This difference is, a) the difference of *language*. To know the language of the author in its difference from our own, as well as its relationship, is the first necessary qualification of an exegete. But language, now, is partly a national possession, partly an organ which the given author manipulates in his own way, and finally modifies it according to the individual thought that is about to be expressed. But as a

national possession language has a history, and it is therefore necessary to have an insight into this history, as particularly into that stage of it to which the author belongs. But every author uses this common property in a peculiar way, the more so the more genius he possesses. This imposes upon the interpreter the duty of familiarizing himself with the special *linguistic usage of his author*. Finally the expression is modified according to the individual thought, according to the object that the author has in view. Hence the importance of attending to the *connection*. But the difference to be removed is, *b*) a difference also of *time and of historical relations*. This imposes upon the interpreter the duty of making clear these historical relations themselves, and especially the attitude of the author towards the national, political, and religious relations. The difference which the interpreter has to remove, is *c*) that of the *views, convictions, and manner of thinking*. It may well happen that the interpreter entirely agrees with certain thoughts and instructions of his author, that he feels himself addressed and carried along, or that he finds therein a support for his own views. But the interpreter, at least in the first instance, should not pay too much attention to these feelings, and in no case, if the word of the author seems to him a welcome confirmation of his own view, must he forthwith interpret the author according to this view. The interpreter must, above all, never forget that *the sense of the author is a historical fact*, and that the interpretation is properly nothing else than a piece of *historical inquiry*. Lastly, *d*) the interpreter has to remove the difference between the *work* of the author and his own view of the matter. The work of the author in its totality is just a historical fact, and is to be treated as such. In this, the more perfectly the interpreter can abstract himself from his own opinions or knowledge, and, by virtue of his historical information, can throw himself into his author and his time, the more successful will he be. The task is to understand the author *according to his fundamental thoughts and according to his composition*. This is the highest and most difficult office

Linguistic usage.

Time and historical relations.

Views and convictions.

Personal feelings to be disregarded.

A priori View.

Fundamental thoughts and composition.

of Scripture interpretation. To this one attains only by degrees, ascending, in the first instance, from the understanding of the individual parts to that of the totality, and then descending from the aggregate impression to the individual parts, — a process that is to be several times repeated. But as only *kindred* spirits understand each other, so also there must be a *certain affinity between the interpreter and his author*, in order that the difference may be really removed, i.e. that a true understanding may be attained. He who has no poetical sense will not understand a Homer or a Pindar; he who has no philosophical spirit will not understand a Plato or an Aristotle; just as little will a Demosthenes or a Cicero be understood by one who has no understanding for political relations and agitations. So also the New Testament is to be understood only by him who has the religious sense, and indeed religious sense of a particular kind, — who knows from experience the feeling of sin and the need of forgiveness and grace. This requirement, now, seems to stand in contradiction with that laid down above — that the interpreter is to regard and treat the object to be interpreted entirely as a historical fact. This apparent contradiction disappears when we consider that this spiritual kinship cannot exist previously, and can only appear when the author to be interpreted is already, in a general way at least, well-known, and that this spiritual relationship works a *love*, which far from drawing the author to itself, *resigns itself* rather to the author.

6. Methods of procedure.

These are only the general offices and requirements of the interpreter. But how, now, is *the investigation itself* to be performed? a) It is self-evident that it cannot be done without *helps*; but never must the exegete lose himself in these, nor is he to make himself too dependent on them; they are to be to him not sources, but mere helps. His centre of gravity must never be in anybody's commentary, but in the author himself. This independence of exegetical helps can be attained only by accustoming oneself to examine every thought of the

Affinity
with the
author.

Apparent
contradiction.

Helps to be
used, yet not
slavishly.

author first *without a commentary*, and by exerting oneself to the utmost to understand these thoughts. Only thus can he know why he takes counsel of his commentary, and upon what questions he seeks information. Only thus can he judge how far the exegetical help consulted really affords information.

b) Since we get at the thoughts of the author only through the medium of linguistic expression, and since this rests on grammatical laws, we are never to give place to investigations and discussions with regard to the subject-matter, before the *grammatical sense* has been ascertained. The im-

Grammat-
ical sense.

patience to enter immediately upon the subject-matter itself must be restrained and put under the discipline of the spirit. Exceptional cases may of course occur, where it seems that if one knew what the author *means* he would also know what he *says*. But these exceptional cases are to be regarded as such, and even there all grammatical and lexical means are to be first applied, before it is attempted to approach the author from another side.

c) In general the different kinds of investigations — the grammatical, the real, and the logical — should not be mixed with each other. The helps sometimes give occasion to such mixing, suggesting, as they do, many questions at once. But for the fruitful study of a difficult passage it is especially important that there be *order* in the investigation.

Order in
investiga-
tion.

d) Not unfrequently one may be led away into more extended investigations on a critical, a linguistic, a historical, or archaeological question. Such investigations are not to be avoided, but yet the principal matter is to be kept always as much as possible in view. In such investigations it may happen that the object is not reached, but a discovery is made in another direction. Such a discovery, even if it does not just now subserve any purpose, is not to be let slip, because it may be of value on another occasion.

Side ques-
tions.

e) Sometimes a light seems to flash upon a difficult point, or we have else anticipated a plausible opinion on such a point. Such a flash of genius may, under circumstances, solve a difficulty which all our endeavors could not otherwise have solved. But the correctness of

Flash of
genius.

such a flash must be *confirmed* through investigation. Everything will thus be summoned up in order to establish that; and if it is established, it affords to the exegete a source of the greatest satisfaction. But this is not always the case; and if the pre-conceived view is not confirmed, the exegete must possess love for truth and self-denial enough to be able to part with a darling opinion. The attempt to sustain such an opinion at all hazards is not *exposition* but *imposition*. f) All single investigations must labor towards the goal of the most perfect possible understanding of the whole. Single special investigations also which offer themselves may be never so important and interesting; to the interpreter as such they are valuable only as they contribute to the knowledge of the author and his work. On the other hand, they may serve for the enriching and clearing up of another department.

Goal of the
exegete.

7. Exegetical impartation.

Clear apprehension.

Arrangement.

Character
of the audience.

Classes.

Exegetical inquiry has for its principal object exegetical *impartation or exhibition*. This is a skill to be attained only through practice. Yet some principles and instructions are by no means superfluous. α) Before all things the writing to be interpreted, or at least that part of it an understanding of which he wishes to communicate to others, must have become as clear and transparent as possible to the exegete. β) He must be not only in mental possession of the essential helps, but he must have so *arranged* them in his mind as that his exegetical apparatus may be at his disposal always, in the right place. γ) He must know the nature of the *public* to which he is about to communicate the understanding of a writing or a passage, and what knowledge he may presuppose in it; since if he is to impart to it something not familiar, and to be understood of itself, he has, on the other hand, to give it everything of which he may assume that it *knows* either not at all or *not aright*. δ) If therefore the public is a learned one, or on a level with the interpreter, he has much to presuppose that he cannot presuppose in other hearers. Does the audience consist of young men just entering upon the science he

is to presuppose, indeed, all elementary knowledge, but yet not much that is to be presupposed in hearers of the former kind. If there the procedure may have an eye simply to the furtherance of the science, the principal aim here must be to introduce the hearers into exegetical praxis and methods. In an illiterate public, on the other hand, no knowledge, indeed, must be presupposed; yet others than theologians will hardly have to deal with such a case, and then the object is usually the practical one of edification.¹

ε) But be the audience what it may, the interpreter is to impart to it not all the work that he has gone through with, not all his special investigations, not his fruitless efforts, etc., but only that which ministers to his object. What to impart.

ζ) Just as unnecessary is it to load the explanation with the whole ballast that the exegetical helps furnish. What to withhold.

False and perverse explanations are to be entirely set aside. A certain completeness is desirable only in very vexed and difficult places, yet even here we are to have an eye to the essential. However rich the exegetical apparatus may be, we should always see to it that the author himself is not overwhelmed thereby.

η) The explanation itself must be so ordered that first the grammatical structure and the verbal sense is established and that from this the interpreter may advance to the explanation of the subject-matter and to the logical explanation. The sense of the author must become to the hearer through the explanation, as it were, *transparent*. The sense to be made transparent.

θ) The ideal of the explanation is this: that the hearer be led step by step, and in an inventive way, to the perfect understanding of the author, so that he may believe, as it were, that he has found it out himself. True exegesis is a *dialectic process* that conducts to the object with a sort of inner necessity. It must be known not only *what* the right sense is, but also *why* it is so. These are the principles and rules that the interpreter of Scripture has to observe *in precisely the same manner* as the interpreter of the so-called profane authors. Cf. G. Hermann's *dissertatio de officio interpretis*, 1833. The ideal sought.

¹ Hence this matter, in the author's view, would belong more naturally to Homiletics. — TR.

2. *The right View of Scripture, and especially of the New Testament.*¹

8. Radical views of Scripture.

Opposite
views.

Plenary in-
spiration.

Non-inspi-
ration.

The truth
above both.

Whatever further definitions the general office of the exegete receives through its special object, the Scriptures, must result from the conception of the latter. The views that men have had of Scripture have at all times exercised an essential influence on the treatment and the explanation of Scripture. If the Church regarded the Scriptures as through and through an inspired book, and its authors as merely God's amanuenses and *calami*, to whom the Holy Spirit dictated all and everything — contents and expression; if, accordingly, the whole Bible, from the first verse of Genesis to the last of Revelation, was regarded as of absolute and infallible authority; so in more recent times an opposite view has come into vogue, viz. that the Bible is altogether a human book, and in just the same way a literary product of the ancient Hebrews and of the primitive Christians as the writings of the Greeks and the Romans are literary products of these peoples, and that therefore it is to be treated no otherwise than these. The truth is neither on the one side nor on the other, nor indeed does it lie between the two, but rather *above* both, so that the one view as well as the other turns aside from the *proper* conception. This can only be won in a religio-historical way.

9. Idea of Revelation.

Revelation. "Scripture" presupposes a *revelation*. But revelation is a new truth of surpassing importance, that so seized upon and filled the mind of a man that he was conscious, not of having discovered it or brought it forth himself, but of having received it from above. Such a revelation it was, when in the midst of peoples, which were given to a sensuous nature-worship, the primitive consciousness of the one God, different from the world, all-efficient and holy, was awakened with new power,—the consciousness of an "I" above all other "I's,"—and this

¹ Cf. *Cellérier*, *Manuel d'Hermeneutique Biblique*, p. 188 sqq. — TR.

not as an esoteric doctrine, but as a possession designed for the whole people. Through this the descendants of Abraham became the possessors of an ideal good of infinite worth; they were in an altogether especial sense the people of God. Yet only potentially were they so (Ex. xix. 4-6). Their task was now to become actually what they were already according to their destination, "a holy people" (Lev. xi. 43-45; xix. 2). This so happened that the development of the idea of the people of God was viewed as altogether the work of God, the difficulty of this development as entirely the fault of the people: in entire opposition to the history of other peoples, here all honor is given to God alone. This viewing of God as the invisible King of the people, and of this latter as the object of his guidance and his discipline, could be no merely human thought; it must, as the revelation of the invisible and yet all-efficient God, be itself, in turn, a *divine revelation*. A revelation, or rather a whole series of revelations, it was, when prophets found themselves called and impelled to hold up before the people its sins, to proclaim God's penal judgment, and behind this the glorious time of grace, when God would again have compassion upon his people, and both theocratically and morally restore it. Thus the prophetic revelation represented the history of the people as a divine guidance, as a battle of God as tutor with his stiff-necked people. To this prophetic revelation, to this speaking and struggling of God with his people, *corresponds*, with the pious Israel, a *speaking with* God, which as a rule could have happened no otherwise than in poetical form — whether the pious man did homage to God in the song of praise, or in still, religious satisfaction, sang of his safety under the protection of his God, or struggled in a hard battle of faith and an ardent longing for his salvation, or sought an answer to the deepest enigmas of life. So the whole history of this people in the light of the revealing Spirit, — on the one hand as a *disciplinary struggling of God with the people* (see especially Hosea and Jeremiah), on the other hand as a *prayerful struggling of the people with God*, — seems prefiguratively announced

An ideal good.

Divine revelation.

History of the people a divine guidance.

Struggling of God with the people.

Of the people with God.

Spirit of revelation. in Gen. xxxii. 24–32 coll. Hos. xii. 4, 5. This *Holy Spirit of revelation*, ruling over and in the people Israel, is the presupposition of all holy Scripture.

9. Revelation not necessarily written.

Scripture and the theocracy. In such divine revelation is involved no necessity, indeed, of written records. Revelation is revelation altogether independently of its literary fixing. In general it does not belong to the idea of revelation to be written; but it does belong to the essence of the *theocracy*. The most fundamental document for and in Israel is the two tables of the law, written at the first constitution of the people of God. Of no other document, as of this, is it said, it was written with the finger of God (Ex. xxxi. 18—xxxii. 16). If later still many laws were added, — and “the book of the law” is already in the Pentateuch many times mentioned, — these laws ministered less to the object of revelation, and in a higher degree to the unique object of the theocracy. To the theocratic interest even the oldest historical records (Ex. xvii. 14; Num. xxxiii. 2 ff.) already ministered.

The law. In the prophetic revelation it is perfectly clear that it was written down not so much because it was revelation, as because it was to be a testimony for the following generations. The commands of God to the prophets to record the revelations they received had no other object (so Isa. viii. 16; Hab. ii. 2, 3; Jer. xxxvi. 2, 3 coll. 32). If, then, whole collections of prophecies were recorded — nay, if such as the visions of Ezekiel and the utterances of the Babylonian Isaiah from the time of the Exile were, as is probable, only written — the reason of this lay simply in the circumstances of the times. It was otherwise with the writing down of *songs* and other poetical pieces. These were understood to be not so much revelations as effusions or products of meditation on divine and human affairs. So then, revelation proper, in which the individual receiving was seized and held by the higher truth, at the time of its blooming was not confined to writing, but writing was subordinated to revelation. Inspiration had to do much more with the oral utterance than with the written document, and

Revelation recorded for posterity.

Poetry.

Oral utterance and the written word.

the form in which the songs were set forth was singing and music; a form which was also in part regarded as a gift of Music a gift of God. God, but which for us is entirely lost. It is self-evident that the divine suggestion which had to do first of all with the oral word, and only in a derivative way with the writing, came by *no means* equally to *all* the discourses and to every writing. In the time of the Exile, and in the succeeding time, Scrip- Degrees of inspiration. ture, as *Scripture*, received a greater and greater importance; since the restoration of the theocracy was attended by a greater *legality*, and in the place of free, inspired prophecy, by little and little, *biblical learning* made its appearance. Biblical learning. There can be no doubt but that this increasing exaltation of Scripture, as such, betokened, not the flourishing life, but rather the decay of the higher spirit in the nation.

10. Scripture Idolization and the Theocracy.

But for precisely the *maintenance of the theocracy* this idolizing of Scripture was of incalculable importance. Upon the productive time followed, as ever, a *conservative*. Conservative time. Yet where, in a time given to scribbling, were to be the limits; and what was to be the criterion for the inviolability of these limits? Already the author of the Koheleth laments that of making many books there is no end (Eccl. xii. 12). It would doubtless be a false presupposition if we should assume that they were immediately clearly conscious of such a criterion, and that an accurate separation was instituted from the beginning. The Canon long indefinite. The prologue of "The Son of Sirach" shows us clearly enough the indefiniteness of these limits. As is well known, the Alexandrine Jews had a more extensive collection than the Palestinian. It is worth while to inquire which books the New Testament authors quote, and which not; which they quote frequently, and which only seldom. The standard designation, as is well known, for the collection of the books of the Old Testament was the expression, ὁ νόμος καὶ οἱ προφῆται, or ὁ νόμος, οἱ προφῆται, καὶ οἱ ψάλμοι. The various values which, at the time of Estimate of Jesus and the apostles Jesus and the Apostles, were ascribed to individual books of the Old Testament, is shown from the circumstance that the

Pentateuch, Isaiah, and the Psalms are cited most frequently of all ; certain canonical books, as Proverbs and Job, relatively seldom ; the Song of Solomon, the Book of Esther, and the Chronicles very seldom ; the Books of Kings, on the other hand, are cited pretty frequently, the Books of Ezra, Nehemiah, and Ecclesiastes not at all. On the other hand, allusion is made here and there, though very seldom, to uncanonical books, as the Book of Tobias, 2 Maccabees, and perhaps also to the Book of Wisdom. The Epistle of Jude, indeed, refers even to the pseudepigraphic book, Enoch. All this is clear proof that the limits between sacred books and those not sacred was not yet so firmly established as later. Josephus, in the well-known passage (c. Apion. I. 8), enumerates twenty-two sacred books of the Hebrews, and then adds that since the time of Artaxerxes books have been written on all hands, but have not been considered trustworthy, διὰ τὸ μὴ γενέσθαι τῇν τῶν προφητῶν ἀκριβῆ διαδοχὴν. This temporal limit, viz. the reign of Artaxerxes Longimanus, agrees not ill with that where the expiration of prophecy is usually assumed ; but the ground which Josephus adduces for the meaner authority of these later writings is put not in inspiration, but in *tradition*. On the details, as well as on the history of the text, the Introductions to the Old Testament are to be compared [De Wette, Bleek, Keil, Davidson].

II. The New Testament and Revelation.

Now with regard to the writings of the *New Testament*, these likewise presuppose a revelation. This revelation is the manifestation of the God-man, i.e. of a man who is not separated from God, but *united with God*, and who has opened up the possibility and the actuality of a union of man with God. The relation of man to God is to be no mere judicial relation ; it is to be, and may be, a relation of *love*. And because man is destined to become united with God and a child of God, a *respect* for man, an *estimation* of man, is also here disclosed, as in no other religion and in no ancient philosophy. In one word — over against the Old Testament *servant* of God — the

son of God is here revealed. Over against the inseparable unity of the kingdom of God and the Israelitish people, of the blessing of God and earthly prosperity, a kingdom of God is revealed which is just for the poor and the oppressed; a kingdom of God independent of worldly power and earthly prosperity; a kingdom of God in which the contradiction between merit and fate reaches its culmination, but is precisely through this means overcome. And not only were Christ's life, words, and acts a revelation, but also his death. In this, to the receptive mind, on the one hand, was made known the world's guilt and enmity to God, and an incentive given to *repentance* which no doctrine and no law could ever have given; on the other hand, a resignation and a suffering which, by the faithful mind, could only be viewed as the fulfilment of the deepest Old Testament idea (Isa. liii.), i.e. as a suffering and dying *for us*. Nay, as from this death went forth a life, from this fall a new power, a genuine victory, so to the enlightened eye, not only his own destination to resurrection and to life was revealed, but also the mystery of the world became clear, that truth in general appears *in the form of a servant*, and that it must mount to life and to victory through suffering and humiliation. Such ideas as "never have entered into the heart of man" are manifest *in Christ and through Christ*, and have become the impulse to a new moving of spirits, to a new civilization, whose principle is *love* (2 Cor. v. 17). A kingdom for the poor.

Christ's death an incentive to repentance.

Vicarious suffering.

12. Mediateness of New Testament Revelation.

Upon this revelation rest the writings of the New Testament, yet by no means immediately. Still less than to the essence of the Old Testament revelation does it belong to the essence of the New Testament revelation that it be written. It is significant already that Christ himself neither wrote nor directed others to write. Nay, so definitely is his image impressed upon our souls that we can scarcely think of him as writing. Even by his immediate disciples, even by his earliest church, writing was neglected¹ precisely because to them his Writing neglected by Christ;

by his disciples.

¹ This is perhaps a groundless assumption, and is at variance with the

words and deeds, because to them his life and death, were so freshly and vividly in remembrance. The motive which the prophets of the Old Covenant had to record their prophecies and to seal them as a witness for future generations, must moreover have failed *them*, believing, as they did, that they were living in the last time, and expecting the Parousia soon to arrive. When, indeed, the Apostles went forth to proclaim abroad the gospel of Christ, *oral κήρυγμα* was the medium of their missionary activity; oral preaching it was through which Christian churches were established. Nothing is more certain than that the Apostolic Epistles were written, not in order to *found* churches, but to *confirm* them in Christian faith and life, as the writers often refer in their Epistles to personal and oral activity among the readers (cf. 1 Thess. ii. 1-12; 2 Thess. iii. 10; Gal. iv. 13-15; 1 Cor. ii. 1-5; iii. 1 sqq.). Not until the Apostle to the Gentiles had founded churches in various and remote regions did the need arise of letters of exhortation for the confirming of the churches in the faith. But important as these Epistles must have been, alike for the Apostle himself and for his readers, Paul was convinced, nevertheless, that the New Covenant and the office in the gospel *are not a covenant and office of the letter, but of the spirit* (2 Cor. iii. 6 sqq.). If we view the Epistles of the Apostle from the stand-point of *their* time, as we should, we shall find in them, side by side with many great, profound, and imperishable thoughts, some which are due simply to his Rabbinical culture. We reckon among these principally the now literal, now allegorizing, explanation of Old Testament passages. We find that he by no means claims for himself infallibility, but distinguishes between his own opinion in certain things and the word of the Lord (1 Cor. vii. 25, 40);¹ that he now and then lost his temper; that a lapsus memoriae could befall him (1 Cor. i. 14-16);

best results of modern science. Cf. Dissertations in Godet's Commentaries on Luke and John; per contra, *Westcott*, Intr. Ch. iii. sub fin. — Tr.

¹ The fact that the Apostle thus distinguishes on one or two occasions has been regarded as an implied claim of infallibility for the rest of his writings. Cf. *Stanley*, Commentary in loco. — Tr.

Idea of the Parousia.

The Epistles confirmatory.

The letter and the spirit.

Rabbinical culture.

Fallibility.

that dogmatic correctness in the later ecclesiastical sense is not to be thought of in him (cf. 1 Cor. iii. 23; viii. 5; xi. 3). As regards the form, we feel, of course, the overpowering torrent of his discourse and the power of his inspiration; but we cannot close our eyes to the fact that many Hebraistic expressions and turns occur, many defective propositions, and, in general, that his Greek is very far from classic purity. If these Apostolic letters of exhortation ministered immediately to the need of the churches, and arose directly from the relation of the Apostle to them, the *Gospels*, which certainly arose somewhat later, ministered to a mediate and a more far-seeing need. Gradually were the immediate witnesses passing from the stage, and with them the immediate and faithful remembrance of the words, deeds, and fate of the Lord threatened to be extinguished. Then there appeared a gospel literature, in part, as it seems, by uncalled men; and from this gospel literature arose, first, a Gospel which sprung from the *λόγια* of Matthew; next, one which seems to have arisen under the authority of Peter; finally, one which was designed for a Christian of note in Italy and which sought to combine Pauline views with the greatest possible completeness. At a later period, in the outside limits of the Apostolic age, arose a fourth Gospel which takes a higher stand-point above Judaism and Paulinism, and aims to raise *πίστις* to *γνώσις*.¹ These Gospels afford irrefragable proof that at the time of their writing, differences in the historical tradition had already arisen, and that the different views and reflections of the Evangelists had likewise an influence on the representation. This is especially the case with the fourth Gospel. Yet even earlier pressing conflicts of the Christian churches with the heathen peoples, yes, even with the heathen magistrates, had set in; Christians passed here and there as a despised sect; the Apostles must exhort them to patience (cf. Jas. and 1 Pet.). But the cruel Neronian persecution had also broken out, which appeared to the faithful to be

Defects of
style and
language.

The Gospels.

Differences
in tradition.

Christians
despised
and persecuted.

¹ On this whole subject of the rise of the Gospels, see the dissertations in Godet's excellent commentaries on Luke and on John. — TR.

the beginning of a decisive battle between God and the world, between Christ and the adversary ; in this agitation, moreover, something of the old prophetic spirit, nourished chiefly by images from Daniel, beamed forth anew. Thus arose the **Apocalypse.** *Johannean Apocalypse*, as encouragement in calamities, as exhortation to steadfastness in the expectation of the early coming of the Lord. No New Testament author, as the Apocalyptic, has added to his book the threat, "If any man shall add unto these things, God shall add unto him the plagues that are written in this book ; and if any man shall take away from the words of the book of this prophecy, God shall take away his part out of the tree of life," — a threat which was a stumbling-block to Luther, and which can be explained only from the excited tone of this book.

13. Uncanonical Christian Writings.

The first Christian century witnessed the rise of many writings : gospels, pre-eminently apocalypses, but also histories of apostles and epistles or tractates, mostly pseudepigraphs, that gained acceptance only in single heretical parties. By the middle of the second century Marcion had a canonical collection, consisting of one Gospel and ten Pauline Epistles, and, by about the end of the second or the beginning of the third century, most of the writings which we possess in our New Testament Canon had already attained to a canonical authority (cf. *Fragm. Muratori*, *Peschito*, *Citations in Iranaeus*). Only with reference to the Epistle of James, the second Epistle of Peter, the two small Epistles of John, the Epistle to the Hebrews, and the Apocalypse did doubt still exist, and so, indeed, that in the Eastern church the Apocalypse, and in the Western the Epistle to the Hebrews, were especially disputed. On the other hand, in the first centuries there was a disposition here and there to adjudge canonical authority to the Epistle of Barnabas and to the first Epistle of Clement as also to the Shepherd of Hermas. (The first and a fragment of the second Epistle of Clement are appended to the Cod. Alexandr., the Ep. of Barnabas and the Pastor Herm. to the Cod. Sinait. Origen

Marcion's canon.

N.T. Canon.

Doubtful books.

Barnabas, Clement, and Hermas.

mentions the latter book with great respect. Tertullian, per contra). The doubts with reference to second Peter, second and third John, Hebrews, and the Apocalypse continued into the fourth century; on the other hand, the "Shepherd" and the Epistle of Barnabas are already regarded as *νόθοι* (Eusebius, H. E. III. 25). From these facts it is manifest that a long time passed before the limits between sacred books and those not sacred was established. But what now were the *criteria* according to which some books were recognized as sacred and others not? In the case of second Peter it was, without doubt, because its genuineness was doubtful; in the case of second and third John it was the smallness of their compass and the unimportance of their contents. It is more difficult to see why the Western church struggled so much against the recognition of the *Epistle to the Hebrews*. It could not have been the contents, at least not the passage that has been appealed to, vi. 4-6, since neither Tertullian nor Novatian, who yet had abundant cause to appeal to this passage, makes any use of it. It may therefore have been affected rather by the fact that the Epistle was not regarded as a work of the Apostle Paul, to which, perhaps, the observation of Origen (in Eusebius, II. E. VI. 25) contributed something. Genuineness and canonicity do not seem to have been discriminated. The case was different with the Apocalypse, since this enjoyed the earliest recognition; Justin Martyr quotes it; Irenaeus makes distinguished mention of it, and Origen speaks of it as a holy book. First, in consequence of the Chiliastic agitation (Nepos), the Eastern church became estranged from the book. Here, therefore, it was the contents and character of the book that occasioned the aversion of the Orientals towards it. If some hesitated to admit the Pastoral Epistles and the Epistle to Philemon into the Canon, it was for the reason that they are private Epistles. This ground was urged especially against the Epistle to Philemon, and was accompanied, indeed, by the observation: *non semper Apostolum omnia Christo in se loquente dixisse*. (See Jerome, Comment. in Ep. ad Philemon, in

Criteria of sacredness.

Genuineness and canonicity.

Internal character.

Gospel of
John.

Apostoli-
city and
congenial
contents.

Ecclesiasti-
cal conser-
vatism.

praef.) In order to attain to as complete a view as possible of the grounds of the acceptance or the non-acceptance of certain books, still another book must be considered, which was never objected to by the ancient church, the Gospel of John. It is well known how sharp-sighted the ancient church was for everything heretical, and how mistrustful of everything that seemed to lend a support in any way to the heretics; but the Johannic Gospel found acceptance and authority first among the followers of the Valentinian Gnosticism, the Valentinian Heracleon, indeed, having written a commentary on the book (cf. Orig. Tom. in Joh. opp. IV. 220, 234); nevertheless, from the close of the second century onwards this Gospel had authority in the church as a genuine and canonical book. What was it, now, that overcame the scruples that might have been entertained against this writing on account of its Gnostic contents and use? Was it the conviction of the Apostolic authorship of this writing? Was it the lofty and, to the Christian consciousness, so congenial contents? Probably both together. So much we gather from it all, that the judgment of the ancient church on the canonicity and the non-canonicity of individual books rested not on strict critical principles, but on a general, and for the most part tolerably correct, feeling. But what, now, were the grounds on which, in the fourth century, second Peter, second and third John, and Jude, furthermore the so-called Pastoral Epistles, together with the Epistle to Philemon, the Epistle to the Hebrews, as a writing of the Apostle Paul, and, finally, the Apocalypse, were altogether pronounced to be canonical writings? Was it, indeed, discovered after the time of Eusebius that second Peter is genuine; that the Epistle to the Hebrews, everything to the contrary notwithstanding, is a work of the Apostle Paul; that the Apocalypse, although Chiliastic, has a right to a place in the sacred collection? By no means; but it was the ecclesiastical *conservatism*, combined with the need of a many-sided *ecclesiastical constitution*, that procured for these writings acceptance into the canon. (Cf. Cyrill. Hierosol. *περὶ τῶν θείων γραφῶν*, Athan. Ep. fest. 365. — Can.

60 of the Council of Laodicaea, Can. 36 of the Council of Hippo, etc.) With the canonicity ascribed to the sacred books was naturally joined their inspiration (cf. e.g. Cyrill. Hierosol., as above: ἐκ πνεύματος ἁγίου ἢ τῶν ἁγίων πνεύματι λαλήθει-σῶν θείων γραφῶν ἐρμηνεία συνετελείτο). Yet, at first, inspiration was ascribed only to the Old Testament writings; not until a later period, especially after the uniting of the New Testament into a sacred collection, was inspiration likewise extended to it.

14. Corruptions of the Text.

A proof how little the Apostles dreamed that their writings, after centuries, would be honored as *sacred* books, is the circumstance that the autographs of the New Testament authors were lost so early that even the most ancient Fathers betray no knowledge of them; whether it be that they were written on very perishable material, or that the first Christian generations attached no special value to them. Not the form, the original, but the contents was to them the important thing. But if only they, or yet the oldest transcripts, had been so written as to have left no room for misunderstanding! But, as is well known, the ancients wrote in the scriptio continua, and — although in the schools of the grammarians the marks of punctuation were known — *without* punctuation, without breathings, and without iota subscript, which latter, indeed, was not in general applied in the Uncial writing. Hence many uncertainties and differences among the old Fathers as to how a sentence should be read and how it should be connected. (Cf. e.g. John i. 3, 9; Romans vii. 11; 1 Cor. xiv. 33.) If, then, in the fifth century stichometry was introduced by Euthalius of Alexandria, if later the stichoi were separated by points, this can, of course, prove nothing as to the divisions which the New Testament authors themselves had in mind. The same holds true with reference to the greater divisions (κεφάλαια), which appeared as early as the second century, and of which Matthew contains 355, Mark 234, Luke 342, and John 231. At all events our present system of inter-punctuation is of very

Autographs
soon lost.

Scriptio
continua.

Stichome-
try.

Chapters
and verses.

late origin, and dates from the sixteenth century; our division into chapters proceeds from Cardinal Hugo of St. Caro († 1263), and our present division into verses, from Rob. Stephanus (1551). But not only in the external form did the text of the New Testament afford many an uncertainty, but also in its *inner nature*. That in the process of copying, mistakes could slip in, is self-evident to every unprejudiced mind. But not only accidental, but also deliberate, alterations of the text came in — most frequently and most freely of all in the first centuries, when men did not dream that with the sacred text

Classes of
corruptions.

every word is of importance. What was offensive or contradictory was obviated; faults of language were corrected; expressions and thoughts that seemed not sufficiently favorable to orthodoxy were made more so; in a liturgical interest, e.g. doxologies were added; from tradition, still vivid, additions were made, as John vii. 53–viii. 11; v. 4; Mark xvi. 9 to the end; so also in the interest of orthodoxy passages like 1 John v. 7, were interpolated. Such additions were at first merely written in the margin, and not until a later period were they incorporated into the text itself. If we consider all the circumstances through which the biblical text suffered alteration,

Uncertainty
as to the
original.

it might well seem as if we were left in total uncertainty as to the original, and as if we must renounce any possibility of arriving at the bottom of the matter, especially when we remember that even in Griesbach's time thirty thousand variations had already been counted. The orthodoxy of the seventeenth century contented itself with denying the facts of the case; maintaining that the divine Providence could not have permitted the word of God to be changed or adulterated. Such an assertion has, at the present day, when the weight of undeniable facts speaks out, become an impossibility; and orthodoxy, to be consistent, must turn around and say: the divine Providence *not* having attended to the unadulterated preservation of the biblical text, has shown that it did not *intend* to bind the saving truth in the biblical letters. Notwithstanding this, it must still be very important for us, in the theological

interest, to press through this forest of variations, and to ascertain the original condition of the text with the greatest possible probability. But this is not impossible; and to this *textual criticism*, practised according to correct principles, leads.

15. Results for a Conception of Scripture.

But what results from what has been said for a *conception of Scripture*, as a foundation for a sound and thorough exegesis?

1) The Scriptures proceed from a previous *revelation*. By revelation we understand not only such truths as the receiver, correctly or incorrectly, regards as supernatural; but rather partly such *thoughts* as in the life of the individual or of the people are ideal new creations, and partly such *events* as, full of ideal worth, produce an enlightening and inspiring effect; in one word, ideas that are facts — facts that are ideas. Of such is the Bible composed, therefore it is the holy Scripture, the book of books. The difference between the writings of the Old and New Testament and other books is not only, and not chiefly, that the spirit of the former is related to the spirit of the latter as the general to the special; still less as the educated spirit to the uneducated, but as the *new man to the old*; as one that gives all honor to God, that seeks and finds perfect satisfaction in communion with God alone.

2) Yet we are to distinguish, indeed, between revelation and the *record* of revelation, or holy Scripture. In revelation man sustains always a receptive relation — hearing (1 Sam. iii. 10), or beholding (Isa. vi. 1 sqq.). In the communication (oral or written), he sustains an active relation. The more immediately the revelation has promulgation in view (as Num. xxiii. 12–xxiv. 4; Amos iii. 7, 8; Acts iv. 20; 2 Cor. iv. 6), the more the word of promulgation is itself a revelation. But this is not always the case as, e.g. in the writing of history, where the revelation has passed through tradition, and the author relates what has been handed down; or in reflection, when the revelation is mediated through the national and temporal view and through the individual thinking. This accommodation is found far more in written than in oral discourse. In

Dependence
on revelation.

Revelation
and the
record of
revelation.

Accommodation.

the Scriptures are found all shades, from the most immediate effusion to the most mediate tradition and human reflection.

Author not
a mere or-
gan.

3) The biblical author, as the organ of revelation, is, therefore, *never merely and purely* an organ; but as he is rooted in his national and temporal views and interests, so also he is concerned, both actively and passively, in his common and individual interests; but while, without being entirely destitute of the revealing Spirit, so much human limitation and impurity may adhere to the author, yet he stands always passively or actively, consciously or unconsciously, under the influence of this Spirit. That divine and eternal, and this human and temporal, are so blended in Scripture that the divine receives through the human its coloring and bodily form, the human through the divine, its sanction. Thus, then, the *discrimination* between Scriptura sacra and Verbum Dei is just as proper as the *separation* of the two is inadmissible.

Relation of
the New
Test. to the
Old Test.

a) The relation of the *New Testament to the Old* is in part a relation of unity, in part a relation of diversity. The unity consists not only in the idea of the one almighty and holy God, but also in the idea (more limited or more spiritual) of a people of God as the object of his revelations and guidance, as also of the mutual relation of promise and fulfilment. The difference consists partly in the spiritualizing of the divine law into love, and in the realization of love to God in love to man; partly in the discrimination and the separation of the kingdom of God from worldly powers and conditions, and in the elevation of martyrdom to the highest dignity; but, in general, in the revelation of the *relation of sonship*, first of all in the person of Jesus, but then also in the faithful. In some New Testament writings the unity with the Old Testament, in others the difference from it, is made more prominent.

Individual-
ization in
the New
Test.

b) But besides this the spirit of the New Testament becomes *individualized* to such an extent, that not only do Paul and James, but also John and Peter, differ among themselves, but also from both the others, and even in Paulinism unmistakable shades of opinion occur. Even between earlier and later Epistles the difference is

observable, that in the latter the progress from *πίστις* to *γνώσις*, from the simpler to the more elaborate ecclesiastical constitution, is manifest.¹ Hence it follows that the spirit of the New Testament, in general the spirit of revelation, is not a statical, but a *developing spirit*.

c) It is, furthermore, undeniable that the New Testament writings arose, not as a result of a special divine commission, but as they were called forth by the conditions and needs of the churches. If a divine commission is here to be spoken of, it consists in the apostolic longing for the spiritual welfare of the churches; cf. especially, Rom. i. 9-12; 1 Cor. i. 10 sqq; xv. 1-3; 2 Cor. ii. 12, 13; vii. 5 sqq.; Gal. i. 6, 7; iv. 12 sqq.; John xix. 35; xx. 31; 1 John i. 1-4; ii. 1, 26; iv. 1; v. 13.

d) No careful reader can have failed to observe that the authors of the Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles are dependent, at least partially, on tradition, and that apostolic men often in their letters make use of such Scriptural arguments for the confirmation of the truth as from the point of view of an accurate exegesis will not stand the test, as also of such rational grounds as would now seem scarcely tenable; so, e.g. Gal. iii. 15 sqq.; iv. 21-31; 1 Cor. xi. 1-15; xv. 29 sqq.; Rom. iv. 20-25; vii. 1-6, and other passages. As here the Apostle is frequently dependent on his rabbinical education, so, not seldom, he allows himself in bursts of indignation; as, especially, in Galatians and in second Corinthians. These are human elements which mar, indeed, the purity of the divine truths, but, at the same time, show us by so much the more clearly the Apostle in his historical embodiment.

e) Although the New Testament authors—even the author of the Apocalypse—never dreamed that they were writing holy Scriptures for remote centuries, yet their writings became such, as the result of a *necessary ecclesiastical development*. Not, indeed, that no Christian church could have maintained an existence without a firm canon of sacred writings; yet the need of a stable authority, which the church connects with its

Mode of the
rise of New
Test. writ-
ings.

New Test.
writers de-
pendent on
tradition.

Ecclesiasti-
cal develop-
ment.

¹ This difference is doubtless attributable in part to different degrees of culture on the part of the readers. (Cf. Galatians with Ephesians.)—TR.

Inequality
of value.

divine origin, was, and is, the consequence of ecclesiastical unification and fortification. What proceeded from the fulness of the consciousness of the revelation of salvation in Christ, has, for all times, a refreshing and sanctifying power. *f)* As in the first centuries of the Christian church equal value was not attached to all the New Testament writings, so it must be permitted to us also to esteem them unequally. Nay, we have a right to go beyond the judgment of the ancient church, knowing as we do, that it could not yet have proceeded according to firm principles and deep insight, and that to *us*, who are in possession of these requisites, it is permitted to subject as well their favorable judgments as their doubts to a thorough

Need of textual
criticism.

test. *g)* Still more pressing must we regard the need of *textual criticism*; for, since through the corruptions and variations of the text, the *basis* from which the exegetical explanation has to proceed is made uncertain, textual criticism must form the foundation of interpretation. Yet here, in a thousand cases, only a probability, not a certainty, is reached. *h)* Through all the human elements of national and temporal conceptions and modes of thought, through the undeniably very different value and merit of the individual parts of Scripture, through the unclassical language, and through all the uncertainties and corruptions of the text, beams clearly and unmistakably the unparalleled and divine *contents* of the New Testament. Little as we are to be blind to these things; much as we are to bestow our full attention on these, as the *body* in which this divine soul dwells, we are just as little to turn away from the soul of this body, the divine contents, because it is given to us in the *form of a servant*.

Divine con-
tents.

3. *The Interpretation of Scripture, and of the New Testament in particular.*

16. *Impartiality the Result of Conflict.*

What has been said of the nature of Scripture, and of the New Testament in particular, may be regarded as a sure acquisition of theology, and as the property of all theologians of

the present. But this acquisition is the record of a hard two-hundred-years battle; nay, we see the forerunners of it even in the fourth and fifth centuries. Even the age of the Reformation, for reasons easy to understand, was not yet able to attain to complete impartiality. It was necessary rather that there should be first a one-sided and unnatural deification and ossification, then just as one-sided and shallow a humanization, and finally a battle between the two, before the true impartiality and thoroughness of the view of Scripture could be wrought out. All these various conceptions exercised their influence on Scripture interpretation, and are reflected therein. It is therefore instructive to recognize in the history of Scripture interpretation the distortions and errors, as also the so often fruitless efforts for something better; but, especially, the battle between the sound sense and a consecrated tradition, or "orthodoxy," falsely so called, and from the long course of error to extract the truth. This seems by so much the less superfluous, that even at the present day the sound and correct view is not altogether unattacked and free from detraction.

Necessity of
extremes.

a) *History of Scripture Interpretation in connection with the present idea of Scripture.*¹

17. The Allegorical Interpretation.

Interpretation takes its rise whenever there arises an opposition that needs to be reconciled between the spirit of Scripture and the spirit of the time. The first and most distinct appearance of such an opposition was with the *Jews of Alexandria*, of whom Philo must be regarded as the representative. The unconditional veneration of the Old Testament Scriptures on the one hand, and the influence of the Hellenistic and especially of the Platonic culture on the other, could not but bring about a breach, to be composed only through the *allegorical interpretation* of Scripture. The naïveté with which the Old Testament speaks of God, the downright realism of many Old Testament ideas and expressions, stood in direct antagonism to the idealistic

Alexan-
drine Jews.

¹ Cf. Cellérier, pp. 7-80; G. W. Meyer, *Gesch. d. Schrifterklärung*.—Tr.

Idealizing
of the Old
Test.

thought of the current culture. The allegorical interpretation occupied itself with the idealizing of the Old Testament expressions and conceptions, especially with the removal of the anthropomorphic and the anthropopathic, with the reduction of theophanies and other contacts of God with men to mediating powers. Although Philo bowed to a rigid idea of inspiration, and although he did not deny the historical nature of the Old Testament narratives and persons, these are yet to him little more than pictures (τρόποι) of the soul. Adam becomes with him the *ἄνθρωπος γηγενής* or *χοϊκός*; Cain is self-seeking; Abel, devotion to God; Noah is the picture of righteousness; Abraham is the symbol of a soul grown wise through discipline; Isaac the picture of a soul wise by nature; Jacob of a soul grown wise through practice; Moses, finally, is called *ὁ λόγος προφήτης*. Egypt, according to Philo, is the emblem of the body; Canaan of piety; the wandering of Abraham from Chaldaea denotes his conversion from the worship of the stars to God, etc. Yet Philo regards the allegory only as an esoteric doctrine, which is not for carnal, but for spiritual men. But the allegorical and typical treatment of the Old Testament was also in vogue among the

Palestinian
Jews.

18. Allegorizing of the New Testament Writers.

Paul's alle-
gorizing.

It was this method also that the New Testament writers, especially the rabbinically educated Paul, practised. With them allegorizing and typologizing arose not from the need of reconciling the sacred word with the philosophy of the time, but from the relation of the former to Christ and to Christian truth. The arguments from Scripture which they frequently employ along with rational arguments are, in part, passages that are adduced merely with reference to the language, and

as may suit the writer's convenience from the most various places of the Old Testament. The Apostle Paul, to prove that the true sons of Abraham are not slaves, but free children of God, refers the two wives of Abraham to the old and new covenants (Gal. iv. 22 sqq.). In the passage of the Israelites through the Red Sea he finds an allusion to Christian baptism, and in the eating of the manna an allusion to the Lord's Supper (1 Cor. x. 1-3). The rock from which Moses caused the water to flow is to him a picture of Christ (1 Cor. x. 4). The collective singular, *σπέρμα* (Gen. xxii. 18), Paul presses to prove that thereby only the one Christ can be meant (Gal. iii. 16).¹ The deluge from which the sons of Noah were saved by the ark, Peter so applies as to make the water of the flood a symbol of baptism, where the *διά*, through a play upon the word, is used in the local sense, "through," as well as in the instrumental sense, "by means of" (1 Pet. iii. 20). The author of the Epistle to the Hebrews make much use of the allegory and the type, in which respect the Epistle of Barnabas goes, to be sure, still farther.

*Specimens
of Paul's al-
legorizing.*

*So Peter
and the au-
thor of He-
brews.*

19. The Alexandrian School.

Accordingly, when Christianity had extended itself to Alexandria, and had established there a catechetical school, the need must have been felt in a high degree of accommodating Christianity and the Old Testament, which was still ever regarded as the source of knowledge and the source of proof for Christianity, with the culture of the time, especially with the Platonic philosophy. The allegorical interpretation could not fail to come thus into great prominence. According to Clement the verbal sense is merely for elementary faith, the allegorical sense alone leads to the gnosis. In justification of the employment of the allegory, the propriety of which seems still to have been questioned by many, he appeals to Ps. lxxviii. 2; 1 Cor. ii. 6, and other passages. But the chief allegorist of the Christian church is Origen. This great teacher devoted the greater part of his life to the critical and exegetical study of the

*Christianity
and Plato-
nism.*

Origen.

¹ See *Ellicott and Lightfoot, Comm.*, in loco. — TR.

Scriptures. Of his critical labors his works, the Hexapla and the Tetrapla (portions of which, to be sure, are lost), furnish proof. His exegetical works were of three kinds: scholia (all lost), commentaries proper (τόμοι), and religio-ethical homilies. Pre-eminent among his commentaries must that on the Gospel of John be placed. His Christian Platonism, which was arrayed as well against empty Ebionism as against unbelieving heathen speculation, is everywhere noticeable. In the place of the view previously in vogue, of a twofold sense of Scripture, he adopts, after the manner of the Platonic trichotomy of man into σῶμα, ψυχή, and λόγος (πνεῦμα), a *threefold* sense of Scripture. The literal sense he did not despise, but regarded it as merely the shell of the higher sense, just as the earthly nature of Christ was the shell of his divine nature. It was partly his exaggerated idea of inspiration, partly his Platonism, that led him often into phantastic, over-refined explanations. While in Origen the grammatico-critical, as well as the mystico-speculative, tendency was represented, the *later* Alexandrian school, with its most famous representatives, Athanasius and Cyril, abandoning the former, gave itself, in opposition to the Antiochian exegesis (see below), entirely to the allegorical. The chief monument of this one-sided tendency are the Homilies of Cyril. Cyril wrote commentaries on the Pentateuch, on the Prophets, and on the Gospel of John. He may be regarded as the representative of the Scripture interpretation of his time in which the dogmatizing was joined with the allegorizing tendency.

Later Alex-
andrian
School.

20. The Antiochian School.

In opposition to this tendency stood the exegesis of the Antiochian school, as whose first representatives Theophilus, Julius Africanus, and Lucian are to be mentioned. To the mystico-idealistic—at a later period more and more dogmatizing—character of the Alexandrian school, the *historico-critical* character of the Antiochian school formed an antagonism as sharp as can be conceived of. Lucian of Samosata († 311) was the founder of this school and was celebrated

The Anti-
ochian
school, his-
torico-criti-
cal.

chiefly for his contributions to the critical purging of the biblical text. But the Antiochians who exhibited most sharply the peculiarity of this school in exegesis are Diodorus of Tarsus († c. 394), and Theodore of Mopsuestia († c. 428). The former wrote a work entitled *τὴς διαφορὰς θεωρίας καὶ ἀλληγορίας*, and many commentaries, in great part lost. The latter explained historically most of the prophecies of the Old Testament, and had no sympathy for the mystical conception of the Song of Solomon. In general they did not condemn all allegory without distinction, but only the manner and extent of its employment by the Alexandrians. But the barrenness of the Antiochian exegesis, especially as it was practised by Theodore, did not meet the requirements of the time. His writings were condemned to the flames by the command of Theodosius and of Valentinian; yet his Commentary on the Minor Prophets was preserved. Theodore was very highly treasured by the Syrian Nestorians, and was called the *ἐξηγῆτης κατ' ἐξοχὴν*. Yet his method was not retained entirely even by the orthodox Antiochians themselves, and Joh. Chrysostom and Theodoret of Cyrus, justly the most celebrated interpreters of Christian antiquity, deviated from the emptiness of their teacher in as far as they treated the Scriptures, as a divine book, with the greatest reverence. Yet they also made the verbal sense their starting-point, and regarded this as the foundation of all exegesis. *Joh. Chrysostom* (347–407) is the author of about six hundred and fifty homilies, in which the grammatico-historical is combined with practical edificatory explanation. He does not reject entirely the allegory and the type. He distinguishes correctly between prophesying and prognostication.¹ With reference to the New Testament, his explanations of the Parables and of the Pauline Epistles are especially prized. The difference between Theodore and Chrysostom has been stated as follows: Theodore interpreted grammatically, Chrysostom, theologically. Like Chrysostom, *Theodoret* also († c. 457) made the literal sense his starting-point, but did not stop there. He

Barrenness
of Anti-
ochian 'exe-
gesis.

The labors
of Chrysos-
tom and
Theodoret.

¹ Weissagung und Wahrsagung.

assumes a *συγκατάβασις* of the sacred writers, by which, for example, the anthropomorphisms are to be explained. The Messianic application of prophecy he practises within bounds, but combats the explanation of the Song of Solomon given by Theodore. In the explanation of the Pauline Epistles he follows Chrysostom in great part, but still works with a great deal of independence. After the decline of the school of Antioch the moderate treatment of Scripture flourished at *Edessa* and at *Nisibis*. In Edessa it was *Ephraem the Syrian* († c. 378) who did most towards reviving exegetical study; yet after his death it was not so much *his* method as that of Theodore of Mopsuestia that was employed by his followers, *Barsumas* and *Ibas*. The school of Nisibis maintained itself longer than the school of Edessa, even until some time in the ninth century. The earnestness and zeal with which exegetical studies were there pursued are attested by the so-called Canon of Nisibis, which prescribed a three-years' course of Old Testament and New Testament study. Ephraem and Theodore passed as models of exegesis. Through Chrysostom the Antiochian school likewise exercised an influence on the *Byzantine*. Diodorus, of course, Theodore of Mopsuestia, and Ibas (condemned in the Three Chapter Controversy, 553) continued to be entirely excluded. As in New Rome, just after the Councils of Chalcedon and Constantinople, the strictest orthodoxy prevailed, Scripture interpretation also came under the domination of this orthodoxy. Yet so great was the authority and the influence of Chrysostom that even in the tenth and eleventh centuries worthy followers of him may be pointed out. Oecumenius of Tricca in Thessaly wrote commentaries on the Pauline and the Catholic Epistles. More important is Theophylact († 1107) who, in his explanation of the Gospels and of the Pauline Epistles, though he follows Chrysostom for the most part, possesses a marked degree of independence, and gives us some excellent and subtle observations, which even to the present time are employed by the exegetes. In the thirteenth century *Euthymius Zigabenus* (Zigadenus) is worthy

Schools of
Edessa and
Nisibis.

The Byzantine
school.

Theophylact.

Euthymius
Zigabenus.

of mention. This writer performed an important service for exegesis through his explanation of the Gospels, in which the connection of the thought especially is often excellently brought out.

21. Exegesis in the Western Church.

The Western Church stood far behind the Eastern in biblical study and exegesis. The principal cause of this difference was ignorance of Greek on the part of most of the Latin Fathers. For the Old Testament they were dependent on a Latin version of the LXX; for the New Testament they were likewise dependent on a Latin version. *Jerome* alone († 420) forms here an exception. He was familiar not only with Greek but also with Hebrew. His merit as an exegete rests less upon his investigation of the sense than upon a multitude of linguistic, historical, and especially archaeological, notices. In his explanation of the Old Testament he is too dependent on Jewish tradition. Jerome was not a deep and original, but a learned and many-sided spirit. His principal merit consists in his translation (Vulgate) of the Old and New Testaments from the original texts,¹ and in his discussion of the difference between the Alexandrian and Palestinian Canons and his decision in favor of the latter. *Augustine* († 430) was the counterpart of Jerome. He was a profoundly religious and speculative spirit; and sought to penetrate to the very depths of Scripture also. But he lacked not only a knowledge of the original languages of the Bible, but also historical and critical perception. He set forth, indeed, many good hermeneutical principles, as e.g. when he lays stress on the verbal sense; when he demands of his interpreter, above all things, love for his author; but he also did much harm by laying the foundation for the view (predominant throughout the Middle Ages) of a fourfold sense of Scripture. Cf. *De Genesi ad litt.* (in

Latin
Fathers
ignorant of
Greek.

Jerome.

Augustine.

¹ It is inexact to speak of Jerome as translator of the Old and New Testaments. The fact is, he translated the Old Testament anew, but the New Testament (either the Gospels alone, as some suppose, or all the books, as others suppose, but the Gospels most thoroughly), he only revised. Cf. *Westcott*, in *Smith's Dict. of Bible* (Am. ed.), p. 345. — TR.

init.); De utilitate credendi 3: "Omnis igitur scriptura, quae testamentum vetus vocatur, diligenter eam nosse cupientibus quadrifariam traditur, secundum historiam, secundum aetiologiam, secundum analogiam et secundum allegoriam." In his exegetical praxis, indeed, he sometimes advances good and vigorous thoughts; but, on the whole, for the reasons mentioned, he has not greatly furthered exegesis. To what excess of exegetical or rather of unexegetical ballast the adoption of the view of the fourfold sense of Scripture when joined with a propensity to allegorize may lead, is to be seen in the example of Gregory the Great († 604). His "Expositio (Moralia) in Iobum" in thirty-five books, without accomplishing anything for the ascertaining of the sense, spreads itself over the whole field of practical theology. Nevertheless this work — utterly useless as it is for us — was the admiration of his contemporaries and of the following centuries.

Gregory the
Great.

22. Catenists and Mediaeval Exegetes.

The exegetical spirit having fallen into such a by-path, we must not withhold due recognition of those efforts that were directed towards the *collecting* and *preserving* of the better results of the past. The so-called *Catena*e belong to this class. Through these, the explanations of the most distinguished of the earlier interpreters were not only brought to the remembrance of the time, but many valuable interpretations, otherwise lost, have been handed down to us. In the Eastern Church Procopius of Gaza (in the sixth century) may be mentioned as the pre-eminent collector of this kind. Here, also, belong the often very valuable *Scholia* of which Matthäi has incorporated a large part into his edition of the New Testament. Far less, that is valuable in this regard, did the Latin Church produce than the Greek, a consequence of the fact that the Greek Catenists drew for the most part from Chrysostom, while the Latin drew chiefly from Augustine. At the same time exegetical production did not altogether cease. The *Venerable Bede* († 735) wrote commentaries on several books of the Old Testament, and on most of the New Testament, in the

Catena.

Procopius.

Bede.

spirit of his time, of course, but with marvellous industry. *Walafrid Strabo* († 849) through his “*Glossa ordinaria in Strabo. Biblia*,” was, for a long time, the pilot of exegesis. *Thomas Aquinas* († 1274), the celebrated scholastic, is as an exegete *Aquinas.* comparatively unbiassed, at least fundamentally. This is clear from his assertion (*Sum. I. qu. 1, art. 10*): “*Omnes sensus scripturae fundantur super unum sensum litteralem, ex quo solo potest trahi argumentum, non autem ex iis, quae secundum allegoriam dicuntur.*” His exegetical praxis, indeed, kept far behind this insight, because he lacked the most essential qualification to Scripture interpretation — linguistic knowledge and historical perception. Yet his exegetical works are not wanting in good thoughts. This defect inheres in the mediaeval period in general. Hence there could be no advance in interpretation. But what it could do, it did: It collected and preserved; and what was thus preserved waited for new fructifying elements, which were to be introduced in the second half of the fifteenth century.

23. Influence of Humanism.

The time when *Humanism* blossomed forth, produced at last a more or less philological interpretation. *Nicolaus of Lyra* († 1340) is to be mentioned as the forerunner of this new direction. He is the first Scripture interpreter of the Middle Ages that was acquainted with the original languages of the Bible.¹ His “*Postilla perpetua in V. et Nov. Testamentum*,” a work very meritorious for the time, is more valuable for the Old than for the New Testament, for the reason that the author had the assistance of Jewish interpreters esp. *Sal. Jarchi.* At the same time, he also did homage to the view of a fourfold sense of Scripture, according to the maxim: “*Littera gesta docet, quid credas, allegoria; Moralis quid agas, quo tendas anagogia.*” Luther is said to have made great use of his *Postilla*; hence the dictum of the Catholics: *Si Lyra*

¹ This statement requires to be modified, inasmuch as *Roger Bacon* († 1291), though not distinctively a Scripture interpreter, was thoroughly acquainted with Hebrew and Greek, and exerted a lasting influence in favor of the study of the Scriptures in the original tongues. — Tr.

Laurentius
Valla.

non lyrasset, Lutherus non saltasset." *Laurentius Valla* († 1456), the celebrated humanist and critic of the fables of the popes, wrote "Annotationes in N. Testamentum" in a purely philological interest. But since in that time the ecclesiastically disposed had no interest for philological treatment, and most of the humanists had none for Scripture, his work found no acceptance. More important for the history of Scrip-

Le Fèvre.

ture interpretation is *Le Fèvre d'Estaples* (Faber Stapulensis, 1450-1536). He directed his attention less to the philological and the critical than to the religious contents. He published (1512) a Commentary on the Pauline Epistles, later, Commentaries on the Gospels and on the Catholic Epistles. The grammatical and historical sense is little regarded, but he is also largely free from allegory. For the reason that he not only inclines strongly to the religious side, but, independently of church dogma, seeks to draw this from Scripture itself, he stands hard on the borders of the Reformation. For the French Reformation he may be regarded as the author of an epoch. It was

Erasmus.

the merit of *Desiderius Erasmus* (1467-1536) to have made the whole gain of humanism redound to the furtherance of New Testament study. Through his paraphrase of the New Testament, and more still through his "Annotationes in N. Testamentum" (1522), he contributed in an unusual degree to a better and more judicious treatment of Scripture. Especially did he already thoroughly comprehend the relation of the New Testament Greek to the classical. His exegetical method was directed as well against the method of the Catenists as against all arbitrary allegorizing. He condemns all dependence on partisan authority. Although his principal interest was the philological, religious interest is by no means foreign to him. He regards the fear of God, as well as the desire for knowledge, as an indispensable condition for the understanding of Scripture. Upon the Textual Criticism of the New Testament he likewise bestowed great industry; ¹ yet, on account of the defectiveness

His labors
in Textual
Criticism.

¹ The labors of Erasmus in Textual Criticism are very liable to be over-rated. He seems to have employed extremely few mss., and to have

of the materials at his command, his work in this department is less important. Nevertheless his edition of the New Testament became the foundation for New Testament criticism; the second edition (1519) served Luther for his translation. At all events Erasmus is the inaugurator of genuine biblical study, and the most immediate forerunner of the Reformation.

We ought not at this point to pass over entirely the *Jewish* endeavors at the interpretation of the Old Testament. From the twelfth to the fifteenth century there was great scientific activity among the Jews, on the Pyrenaean peninsula. Their knowledge of Hebrew, their familiarity with the customs and usages of their people, their acquaintance with the theological tradition thereof, put them in a position to accomplish considerable for the explanation of the Old Testament, at a time when Christians lacked the necessary knowledge. Yet their dependence on Jewish tradition and their propensity to hair-splitting, often led them astray. Especially worthy of notice are *Abr. Aben-Ezra* († 1167), *Sal. Isaac Jarchi* (Raschi † 1170), *David Kimchi* († 1190), *Isaac Abarbanel* († 1405), *Elias Levita* († 1549), which latter was not distinctively an exegete, but rather a grammarian, and taught in Italy. So also, not as an exegete, but as the author of a kind of hermeneutics is the distinguished thinker Maimonides († 1206) to be mentioned. From these Jewish scholars Nic. de Lyra (see above), to some extent, and especially Reuchlin, received great aid.

Jewish Interpreters.

24. Exegesis of the Reformation.

Scripture interpretation received a new impulse through the *Reformation*. Humanism had prepared the way, in that it put upon a proper basis the study of the sources and the languages of Scripture, proved the groundlessness of many ecclesiastical tenets, and opposed philological investigation to the scholastic hair-splitting. But the deep inner struggling for truth and salvation was requisite in order, by the power of conscience grounded in the word of God, to break the power of ecclesias-

bestowed very little time on the collation of these fow. Cf. *Scrivener*, *Introd to the Text. Crit. of the New Test.* (ed. 1), pp. 294 ff. — **TR.**

tical tradition. The word of justifying faith opened up to Luther the understanding of Scripture, especially of the Pauline Epistles. The need of the wretched, burdened soul; the drawing of the sincere soul to Christ, was for Zwingli a key to the truth of Scripture. The all-working power of divine grace, and the opposition of the world, introduced Calvin into the understanding of Scripture. This led to that unconditional veneration of Scripture as the only pure and certain source of faith. Hence his aversion to allegorizing and the torturing of the verbal sense; hence also the fundamental principle that only the "clear word of Scripture" may serve as proof of a doctrine or of an ecclesiastical usage. But most far-reaching of all is the fundamental principle that Scripture is to be interpreted not by tradition, but "by itself."

Luther (1483-1546), wrote many, in part elaborate, explanations of biblical books; we mention here his notes on the Psalms, on Genesis, on the "Sermon on the Mount," on many passages of the Gospel of John, which was, in his opinion, "the only tender, genuine, principal Gospel," then especially an elaborate Commentary on Galatians. His prefaces to the individual books, especially to Romans and the Psalms, are very valuable. Although Luther's knowledge of Greek was limited, and his knowledge of Hebrew insignificant,¹ and although the exegetical helps of the time must be characterized as very defective, yet by dint of his religious genius, which with imperfect knowledge often *felt out* the kernel of the matter, he did a noble work. To this his translation of the Bible (begun in 1521, completed in 1534), bears ample witness. Frequently as he has missed the sense in the prophetic and the poetical books of the Old Testament, yet in general his translation, in point of religious spirit and original German expression, has long remained a masterpiece.

Zwingli (1484-1531) did not possess Luther's profound genius, but was his superior in linguistic knowledge and in considerate clearness. Instead of the discipline of the cloister

¹ Cf. Art. "Luther," in Herzog's R. E. — Tr.

and the patristic culture — as with Luther — he was led by humanism and by profound longing for truth to the study and understanding of the Scriptures. He wrote scholastic notes on Genesis and Exodus, on Isaiah and Jeremiah; more complete commentaries on the Gospels, among which that on Matthew, is especially celebrated. These explanations contain much that is excellent; yet it may turn out that the “considerate” Zwingli allows himself oftener in allegory than Luther. His exegetical position may be known most clearly from his polemical writings on the Lord’s Supper. The controversial writings on both sides show how Zwingli went to the Scriptures preponderatingly with the historical sense, Luther with the mystical. Unquestionably, the greatest exegete of the Reformation period was *Calvin* (1509–1564). How he viewed the work of Calvin, an interpreter he makes known in various places, e.g. when in the preface to his notes on Romans he says: “Sane quum hoc sit prope unicum illius (interpretis) officium, mentem scriptoris, quem explicandum sumpsit, patefacere: quantum ab ea lectores abducit, tantumdem a scopo suo aberrat;” and when in the classical preface to his Commentary on the Psalms he thus expresses himself: “Si labor a me in his commentariis sumptus lectoribus proderit, sciant mediocri certaminum (quibus me Deus exercuit) experientia non mediocriter fuisse adjutum, non modo ut accommodarem ad praesentem usum, quidquid licuerit doctrinae colligere, sed ut ad consilium scriptoris cujusque psalmorum intelligendum familiarior pateret via.” His exegesis is clear and considerate. No other Reformer was so decided an opponent of allegorizing. Of the Messianic explanation of the Old Testament passages he makes very moderate use; mistakes in the biblical authors (e.g. Matt. xxvii. 9; Acts vii. 16), he recognizes as such without hesitation, and shows often a freedom from bias remarkable for his time. Excellently did he succeed, in many cases, in grasping the line of thought and the intention of the sacred author. This is manifest not only in his explanation of the Pauline Epistles, but also in his explanation of the Psalms, where with all the defectiveness of

his linguistic and historical helps he was often able, with the vision of a seer, to discover and to set forth the thought of the psalmist. That he was often betrayed into a dogmatic and polemical treatment is explicable from his time. Neither is it to be denied that his sharp juridical understanding led him rather to dissect than to explain the thought of the sacred author. Alongside of this Coryphaeus of the Reformation, a number of other men distinguished themselves as exegetes: *Oecolampadius*, *Mart. Bucer*, *Bullinger*, and especially *Wolfg. Musculus* and *Bened. Aretius*. The controversy between Protestants and Catholics had to do with exegesis, in as far as the Protestant principle that Scripture is to be explained not by tradition, but by itself, was disputed by the Catholics. Bullinger elucidated this point admirably when he said (Comf. Helv. II. c. 2): ".... Illam duntaxat scripturarum interpretationem pro orthodoxa et genuina agnoscimus, quae ex ipsis est petita scripturis (ex ingenio utique ejus linguae, in quae sunt scripta, secundum circumstantias item expensa, et pro ratione locorum vel similium vel dissimilium, plurium quoque et clariorum exposita) cum regula fidei et charitatis congruit, et ad gloriam Dei hominumque salutem eximie facit.— Proinde non aspernamur sanctorum Patrum graecorum latinorumque interpretationes, neque reprobamus eorundem disputationes ac tractationes rerum sacrarum cum scripturis consentientes: a quibus tamen recedimus modeste, quando aliena a scripturis aut his contraria adferre deprehenduntur." — *Matth. Flacius* († 1575), finally, embraced the whole gain of the exegesis of the Reformation period in his "*Clavis Scripturae Sacrae*," and reduced it to theory.

Other
exegetes.

Flacius.

25. Lutheran and Reformed Exegetes.

Protestant
orthodoxy.

The domination of *Protestant orthodoxy* had an influence on exegesis similar to that of the orthodoxy of the patristic church. Orthodoxy arose from the struggles of Protestantism for self-preservation and organization. Its influence on Scripture interpretation was not first of all an unmitigated evil. It was attempted to explain the Scriptures by the fundamental

thought of Protestantism which had been drawn chiefly from the Pauline Epistles. Men were led to regard the Scriptures as an organic whole pervaded by the Holy Spirit. This had, indeed, the disadvantage, that the Pauline thoughts and principles were lugged, e.g. into the Synoptic Gospels, nay, even into the Old Testament. Altogether, the deleterious influence of the orthodox dogmatism on Scripture interpretation appeared soon enough and strongly enough. The Scriptures came to be regarded too much as an arsenal for the combating of opponents, and exegesis was forced to minister to this object. Thus many passages that seemed more favorable to opponents than to their own views, were pressed until they said what was required of them. Here, however, is manifest a *difference between the Lutheran and Reformed treatment of Scripture.*

Difference
between Lu-
theran and
Reformed.

The Lutheran Church and theology rooting more in the central soteriological thoughts of Protestantism, and therefore more dogmatic, looked at Scripture predominantly through these fundamental thoughts; while the Reformed, fixing its attention more on the *process* of grace, and therefore more historical, kept exegesis for a longer time independent of dogmatics. We find, therefore, in this period more and better results on the Reformed side; yet good results are not altogether wanting among the Lutherans.

a) Lutheran exegetes. Among those that distinguished themselves during this period we may mention: *Hunnius* († 1603), *Polyc. Leyser* († 1610), *Sal. Glassius* († 1656), author of the "*Philologia Sacra*," and, altogether pre-eminently, *Abr. Calov* († 1686), through his principal work directed against Hugo Grotius: "*Biblia Illustrata*" (1672), in which learning is combined with earnest penetration into the religious and divine contents of Scripture; yet also, it is true, with the austerity which belonged to those times and to that man. *Seb. Schmidt*, *Martin Gejer*, and *Geo. Calixtus*, already show a tendency towards a freer treatment. *b) Reformed exegetes.* Here the influence of Calvin is observable in *Theod. Beza* (1519-1605), who yet, both as biblical critic and as exegete, was an independent worker. He made use of Stephanus's

Lutheran
Exegetes.

Reformed
Exegetes.
Beza.

collection of variations, in attempting to set forth as accurate as possible a recension of the New Testament text. He prepared also notes on the New Testament (1557), which indeed in the ascertainment of the connection of the thought, and, in part, even in independence of exegetical tradition fall behind Calvin's exegesis; but in learning and in philological accuracy surpass this. Altogether, he takes a distinguished place among the exegetes of this period. Yet his critical labors left much to be desired, even for that time. *Joh. Piscator* (1546–1625) is worthy of mention also both as Bible translator and Bible interpreter. His translation of the Bible (1602 ff.) gained in some reformed countries a very high authority. It gives evidence of linguistic knowledge, and is distinguished for fidelity; but it is destitute of grace and flexibility. His notes have the same qualities of fidelity and accuracy; but these also are absolutely destitute of poetical appreciation. Yet they show, time and again, a certain impartiality, as, e.g. when Job xix. 25 is not interpreted as referring to the resurrection. Prominent with reference to biblical study stands the *Dutch Church*, of which the very excellent translation of the Bible, undertaken by order of the Council of Dort, and completed in the year 1634, furnishes proof. Scarcely less worthy of praise is the *English Version*,¹ prepared under James I, by a great conference divided into sections for the work, and published in 1611. Among those who were engaged on the latter translation were such men as Launcelot Andrews, Harding, Reynolds, Smith, Abbot, and others. Among the Dutch, indeed, the exegetes were likewise dependent for the most part on dogmatics, as especially *Andr. Rivetus* and *F. Gomarus* († 1641). With them also exegesis was required to furnish weapons for their theological combats. But linguistic learning, which most of them possessed, gives to their exegesis a scientific support, and the smaller or greater measure of this latter conditions the nearer or more remote

Piscator.

Dutch Church.

English Version.

Rivetus and Gomarus.

¹ Cf. on the English Version: *Schaff* on Revision (treatises by Ellicott, Lightfoot, and Trench); *Mrs. H. C. Conant*, History of the English Bible; *Plumptre*, in Smith's Dict. of the Bible. — Tr.

approach to the more liberal tendency now just being inaugurated. (Cf. below).

26. Reaction against Dogmatism.

Thus under the domination of the scholastic polemics, biblical philology, at least, and its application carried on their quiet work. The scholastic dogmatism, it is true, maintained its predominance. But just this called forth a reaction of *biblical Christianity*, directed towards the essential and the practical, and with this the beginning of a preponderance of biblical study over dogmatics. The inaugurator of this reaction in the Netherlands was Cocceius; in Germany, Spener. *Joh. Cocceius* († 1669) Cocceius expressed his theological tendency, in the preface to his "Summa de foedere et testamento Dei," in the following words: "Multum sine dubio pietate officiunt *Ζητήσεις μωραὶ καὶ ἀπαίδευται*. . . . E contrario ad pietatem necessaria est scrutatio Verbi Dei, spiritualium cum spiritualibus comparatio, demonstratio veritatis, quæ est secundum pietatem, ad conscientiam fundamenti religionis et *ἀναλογίας τῆς πίστεως σύνεσιν* . . ." He was an opponent of the scholastic method also in Scripture interpretation. He sets forth the fundamental principle of his exegesis as follows: "Id significant verba, quod significare possunt in integra oratione, sic ut omnia inter se convenient," i.e. the words mean what the connection lets them mean. His federal theology also had an influence on his treatment of Scripture, in as far as not dogma, but the economy of salvation, was his guiding principle. This might lead to a natural religious-historical — it might also lead to an artificial typological treatment. Cocceius was too much under the influence of his time not to have fallen into the latter. Yet it was already a great gain, that an attempt was made to give to Scripture, and indeed to the fundamental idea of Scripture, the supremacy in theology. As Cocceius's federal theology was further developed by his disciples Braun, Burman, and Witsius, so his exegesis was improved and applied by the two Vitringas; especially by the celebrated interpreter of Isaiah, *Campegius Vitringa* († 1788). Vitringa. Yet Vitringa was an independent interpreter. His surmises

as to when this or that prophecy reached its fulfilment belong, indeed, to his time ; but his rare acquaintance with the biblical languages, his industrious use of the exegetical apparatus hitherto collected, his notices of the foreign peoples against whom the prophecies are directed, finally the careful consideration of the sense of individual passages, constitute Vitringa's commentary an epoch-making phenomenon in the history of the interpretation of the prophet. Another distinguished theologian of this category, by birth a German, by education and official position, in part, a Netherlander, was *Adolf Lampe* († 1683-1729), through his principal dogmatic work, "*Geheimniss des Gnadenbundes*,"¹ standing on essentially the same ground with Cocceius, and, until Schleiermacher, a leading authority with the Reformed Church. As exegete, he attained to great merit by his *Commentary on the Gospel of John* (1723 ff.).

Lampe.

Spener and
Franke.

What Cocceius was for the Netherlands, and more, *Spener* and *A. H. Franke* were for Germany. In the place of abstract scholasticism biblical study was set up, and so far as the influence of Pietism extended, was pushed forward with zeal. In what sense this happened in the first and better time of Pietism, the statement of Franke (*Observ. Bibl.*), may show. "It is well and commendable that the study of the fundamental languages is urged forward, and it is not urged forward long enough, nor with due industry in the schools and universities. But we should see to it that we do not remain hung up in the science of languages and philology ; but that we make it our great object to arrive at a proper understanding of the matter itself, which is brought before us in God's word ; and to this end we should industriously supplicate God for the enlightening of the Holy Spirit." The principal efforts of the Pietists were directed towards the edificatory application of Scripture, as we may see from Franke's "*Manuductio ad Lectionem Scripturae Sacrae*." This predominance of effort at edification soon degenerated, indeed, into indifference to science, and at last into proud contempt for it. Mystical and typological

¹ "Mystery of the Covenant of Grace."

trifling arose; Chiliastic phantasies found great acceptance; the Scriptures were not so much explained as overwhelmed with pious reflections. Emphases were found where none exist. Yet in proportion as Pietism fell into such degeneracy, Orthodoxy revived, drawing into itself, as it did, the better elements of Pietism. J. J. Rambach and J. A. Bengel are distinguished representatives of such a purified Pietism, or of such a deepened Orthodoxy. *Rambach* (1693–1730) is the author of no exegetical work, but of the very excellent “*Institutiones Hermeneuticæ Sacrae*.” Far more scientific than the similar work of Franke, this also paid its tribute to Pietism through the exaggerated valuation of emphases. *Bengel* (1687–1751) is celebrated as a Scripture interpreter. He may well be designated the most important exegete since Calvin. Bengel thus sets forth the tendency and character of correct Scripture interpretation (*Praef. ad Gnomon N. T.*): “*Omnis interpretationis maxime proprium est, ut vis et significatio verborum, quae textus habet, declaretur adaequate, i.e. ut quidquid ex mente auctoris verba valeant, capiatur; nil, quod ea non valent fingatur. . . . In Scripturis divinis summa profunditas cum summa facilitate conjungitur: quare cavendum est, ne ad nostrum illas modulum in interpretando exigamus, neve, quia anxia solitudine careant scriptores sacri, ideo etiam illorum verba quasi minus considerate posita tractemus.*” Pre-eminent among his exegetical works, stands his “*Gnomon Novi Testamenti*” (1742). Through profound understanding of Scripture, through a brief and often excellent presentation of the sense, together with a capacity to throw himself as well into the Synoptic Gospels as into the Pauline Epistles, Bengel is even yet in many respects an excellent guide for exegetes. At the same time, both in the knowledge and the treatment of the New Testament language, he was far ahead of many contemporaries. The difference between Calvin’s exegesis and that of Bengel is, that Calvin is occupied predominantly with the connection of thought, while Bengel bestows most of his labor on individual words and thoughts. Bengel also was too much subject to

Rambach.

Bengel.

Calvin and
Bengel
compared.

the doctrine of emphases. But with his contemporaries Bengel gained still more reputation by his interpretation of the biblical prophecies, and especially of the Apocalypse. Guided by the thought that the word of God contains prophecy for all times, he published his "*Ordo temporum a principio per periodos oeconomiae divinae historicas atque propheticas ad finem usque ita deductus, ut tota series — ex. V. et N. Testamento proponatur*" (1741), and his "*Erklärte Offenbarung Johannis.*"¹ His efforts at textual criticism are of high merit. His "*Apparatus Criticus*" (1734), together with the results that he drew from it, expressed with great caution for the benefit of anxious minds, is a proof of his critical conscientiousness. Bengel left behind him a school that was maintained at Württemberg until far into the nineteenth century. From this proceeded particularly *Magn. Friedr. Roos* († 1803).

Roos.

27. Liberalistic Exegetes.

Simultaneously with the scholastic Orthodoxy, and with the appearing of Pietism, *more liberal tendencies* were also at work. The *Socinians*. The *Socinians* had already, in their peculiar way, practised such a liberal exegesis. *Paustus Socinus* and *Jon. Schlichting* are here to be mentioned as exegetes. Their exegesis, however, was dominated by their dogmatics, which was a peculiar mixture of Rationalism and Supernaturalism. This peculiarity appeared most prominently in their explanation of the prologue of John's Gospel, where they explained λόγος by metonymy through ὁ λέγων (i.e. the announcer). Where the specifically Socinian principles do not come into consideration Schlichting's explanations, in particular, are by no means valueless. A better turn in exegesis came through the *Arminians*. In opposition to the Calvinistic dogmatism they interpreted Scripture historically, and thus differed also from the rationalistic dogmatism of the Socinians. Yet Arminians and Socinians were drawn nearer to each other through their common opposition to Orthodoxy. The most decided representative of the historical method is *Hugo Grotius* (1583–1645). His "*Anno-*

¹ The Revelation of John Explained.

tationes in libros evangeliorum et varia loca S. Scripturae" and his "Annotationes in V. Testamentum," distinguished as they are for historical perception, exegetical tact, and aesthetic appreciation, would have been able to break out a new road in Scripture interpretation, if the time had been ripe for it, and if his explanations had not been too deficient in the understanding of the religious contents of Scripture.¹ His works called forth, therefore, in opposition Calovius's "Biblia Illustrata" (see above). Among the Protestant French also, liberal tendencies appeared. *Louis de Dieu*² († 1642) surpassed most of his contemporaries in linguistic learning, and in the historico-critical spirit of investigation. *Louis Capellus* of Saumur († 1633) first proved — Zwingli having expressed similar thoughts, but without proof — the more modern origin of the Hebrew vowel-points. His treatise, "Arcanum punctuationis revelatum," edited not by himself, but by Erpenius, called forth a learned controversy between himself and the younger Buxtorf. *Joh. Buxtorf*, the younger (1599–1664), the learned author of the "Lexicon Chaldaicum, Talmudicum et Rabbinicum" (1639), appeared with his "Tractatus de punctorum origine, antiquitate et auctoritate," against Capellus, who, in turn, appealing to Elias Levita and several scholars of the Reformation, disputed, in his "Critica sacra sive de variis quae in sacris V. Testamenti libris occurrunt lectionibus," the genuineness of the Masoretic text. Buxtorf wrote, finally, in reply to this, his "Anticritica sive vindiciae veritatis e Hebraica adv. L. Capelli criticam ..." (1653).³ The Buxtorfian view was the Shibboleth of Orthodoxy, and was, through the second Canon of the Formula Consensus Helvet. (1675), stamped as an article of faith. So difficult was it to fight against a traditional view that was regarded as a stronghold of Orthodoxy! This controversy was limited to the Old Testament. Soon, however,

Louis de Dieu.

Capellus.

Buxtorf.

¹ Strangely conditional! — Tr.

² Chiefly celebrated for his Syriac learning. — Tr.

³ On Joh. Buxtorf, Jun. cf. *Hagenbach*, Die theologische Schule Basels. Jubiläumsprogramm, 1860. [A new edition of the Lex. Chald. Talm. et Rab. has recently been published in Germany, edited by Fischer].

The N. Test.
assaulted.

an assault was to be made against the verbal inspiration of the New Testament.¹ After Erasmus had long ago spoken of the language of the Apostle as “*Sermo non solum impolitus, sed etiam imperfectus et perturbatus* ;” after Drusius and Glassius had pointed out Hebraisms in the New Testament ; then, in 1637, Joachim Junge, in Hamburg, made his appearance with the well-founded and at the same time circumspect proof, that the language of the New Testament is — not indeed barbarous, but — Hellenistic ; and this view was also maintained by Dav. Hensius and Th. Gataker. Against Drusius and Glassius, *Seb. Pfochen*, and against Junge, *Jak. Grosse* maintained the purity of the New Testament style. Yet the latter combated less the fact itself than the consequences that might be deduced from it. *Joh. Vorst* now came forward (1658) with an industrious collection of New Testament Hebraisms ; yet not without a refutation by the younger Vitranga. *Böcler*, *Olearius*, and *Leusden* took middle ground. Yet the view prevailed more and more, that the New Testament idiom is not indeed a barbarous one, though deviating very much from pure Greek. This view was insisted upon with much emphasis by Hemsterhuys, S. Werenfels, J. H. Michaëlis, and others. The controversy lasted till the middle of the eighteenth century, not without the slipping in of many an exaggeration on both sides. The correct view, finally, was brought to recognition through the school of Ernesti, and Ernesti’s opinion that “*genus orationis in libris N. Testamenti esse e pure Graecis et Hebraicam maxime consuetudinem referentibus verbis formulisque dicendi mixtum et temperatum, id quidem adeo evidens est iis, qui satis Graece sciunt, ut plane misericordia digni sint, qui omnia bene Graeca esse contendunt*” — met no longer with serious contradiction. The inspiration and the infallibility of the traditional text was likewise held the less firmly, the more the mass of variations increased and textual criticism came to be recognized as an indispensable condition of a solid exegesis. In 1624 ff. appeared the edition of the New Testament of the

Pfochen.
Grosse.

Vorst.

Böcler,
Olearius,
and Leus-
den

Ernesti.

¹ Cf. *Winer*, N. T. Grammar (ed. Thayer), Introduction. — Tr.

Elzevirs, which was founded chiefly on the works of R. Stephanus and Beza, and which now as *Textus Receptus* attained to almost canonical authority.¹ But in 1657 appeared the English Polyglot of Brian Walton with a comparatively rich critical apparatus;² in 1707 appeared the immeasurably richer apparatus of *J. Mill*, in 1734 Bengel's critical edition of the New Testament, and in 1752 the edition far richer and more valuable still, of *J. J. Wetstein*.³ But even yet these efforts were regarded with much suspicion, and even men of more moderate Orthodoxy, however much they were inclined to relinquish the authority of the ecclesiastical definitions, were very indignant at the efforts of Wetstein, which seemed to them to undermine the divine authority of Scripture. — But not only were the variations of the text brought into an ever clearer and clearer light, but in the seventeenth century light was also thrown upon the origin and fate of the Canon; and this time indeed it was a Catholic who showed, against the Protestants who maintained the unique and absolute authority of Scripture, the gradual and human origin of both the Old Testament and the New, viz. *Richard Simon*, who first in 1678 published his “*Histoire critique du V. Testament*,” and in 1685 his “*Histoire critique du N. Testament*,” and through these works became the so-called founder of the science of Biblical Introduction. The influence of the free spirit that had been excited,

The *Textus Receptus*.

Walton's Polyglot.

Mill.

Wetstein.

Richard Simon.

¹ The term “*Textus Receptus*,” has quite a different meaning in Germany from what it has in England. In England it usually designates Stephen's edition of 1550; in Germany, the edition of the Elzevirs of 1624. For a collation of these editions, see *Scrivener*, *Introd. to the Criticism of the New Test.* (1st ed.), pp. 304 ff. — TR.

² The greatest Polyglot Bible ever published. It seems to have exercised an immense influence on the comparative study of the Shemitic languages, calling forth, as it did, the valuable heptaglot lexicon of Castellus. See *Rénan*, *Histoire generale des langues Sémitiques*, p. 178 (4th ed.). Walton's Polyglot consists of six large folio volumes, and contains, for the Old Testament, Hebrew, Samaritan, Chaldee, Syriac, Aethiopic, and Persian texts; for the New Testament, Greek, Latin, Syriac, Arabic, Aethiopic, and Persian. Moreover, it contains prolegomena still valuable. — TR.

³ On Wetstein, cf. *Hagenbach*, as above, p. 45 ff.

Free treatment of the contents of Scripture.

extended also to the *contents* of Scripture. The historical interpretation was applied not only to the real matters [the physical, geographical, historical, and chronological matters], but also to the *thoughts* of the New Testament. Orthodoxy had hitherto proceeded on the assumption of an absolute opposition between Scripture and profane literature. The historical interpretation led now to a comparison of related literature with Scripture, and this comparison showed the similarity and identity of many conceptions and thoughts in Scripture and in the Jewish authors. Parallels from the Talmud and the Rabbins were collected in abundance by *Lightfoot* (*Horae Hebraicae et Talmudicae ad N. Test.*¹ 1684), *Schöttgen* (*Horae Hebraicae et Talmudicae in univers. N. Testam.* 1733), *G. Meuschen* (*N. Test. ex Talmude illustratum.* 1736), *J. J. Wetstein* (*N. Testam. Graecum cum lectionibus variantibus nec non cum commentario pleniore ex script. Hebr. Chald. etc.* 1751). These collections showed that there exists not only a contrast, but also a kinship between the Scriptures and other Jewish literature. But they subserved a still more direct end, in that a multitude of obscure passages of Scripture received elucidation from this source. Upon the various departments of Scripture Archaeology proper, greater industry was now

The N. Test. illustrated from the Talmud, etc.

Bochart.

also bestowed; *Sam. Bochart's* († 1667) "*Geographia sacra*," is not free indeed from untenable hypotheses, but his "*Hiero-zoïcon*" (1663 and later), prepared with marvellous learning, is in great part, even now, a mine for biblical investigators. In this work is included the "*Hierobotanicon*" of *Olaus Celsius*. With the greatest praise is to be mentioned *Hadr. Reland* of Utrecht († 1718), who, through his "*Dissertationes miscellaneae*," and altogether pre-eminently through his "*Palaestina ex monumentis veteribus illustrata*," became the founder of Biblical Geography.

Celsius.
Reland.

Dutch exegesis.

To the latter scholars we add a summary survey of what the *Dutch* theologians did for biblical study. It were to be

¹ This work has never been superseded, and contains a great deal of valuable matter. There is an English edition, also. — Tr.

expected that in a country in which the great philologists and antiquarians Jos. Scaliger, Dan. Heinsius, Joh. Fr. Gronov, and Drakenborch, but before all Hemsterhuys, Ruhnkenius, Valckenaer, and Wesseling flourished, Biblical Philology and Biblical Antiquities would not lag behind. Here, also, more liberal views gradually gained acceptance. The philologists first named were not altogether strangers to biblical study. Heinsius has already been mentioned above. Hemsterhuys proved his interest in theological research through his inaugural address, "De Paulo Apostolo," as afterwards his edition of Pollux' "Onomasticon," was of no small service to New Testament study. Valckenaer also, with his "Observationes sacrae," is here to be mentioned. Among professed theologians we mention first, *Joh. Drusius* († 1616), Professor of Hebrew at Franeker, and one of the translators of the Dutch Bible. His valuable observations on the Pentateuch, Joshua, Judges, and the Books of Samuel, were first published posthumously by his disciples. But an epoch in the study of the Old Testament was introduced by *Alb. Schultens* (1686–1750), who first pointed out the connection of the Hebrew with the cognate dialects, especially with the Arabic; and the necessity of acquaintance with the latter for a fruitful study of the Old Testament language. This view he propounded first in his "Disputatio de utilitate linguae Arabiae in interpretenda S. Scriptura" (1706), and on this matter fell into a controversy with Jaq. Gousset, who defended against Schultens the "Causa linguae Hebraeae adversus Arabismi abusum." The question under discussion was: Whether the Old Testament language, like other languages, has a human origin or not. Schultens maintained the affirmative against Gousset's "methodus metaphysica" in his treatise: "Origines Hebraicae, sive Hebraeae linguae antiquissima natura ac indoles ex Arabiae penetralibus revocata" (1724). *Bockholdt* is also to be mentioned, who wrote among other things, "Ueber den rechten Sinn der Offenbarung Johannis"¹ (1717). *Vitringa*, father and son, have been

Drusius.

Schultens.

Bockholdt.

The
Vitringas.

¹ On the true meaning of the Revelation of John.

already mentioned. The former († 1722), is celebrated not only as the author of the Commentary on Isaiah, but also of the work “*De Synagoga veteri.*” *Joh. Clericus* († 1736), not by birth, but through his activity and theological position, belonging to the Netherlands, and, at last, teacher in the Remonstrant Gymnasium in Amsterdam, gained a deserved reputation as exegete, through his Old Testament commentaries and through his “*Harmonia Evangelica.*” One of the most important of the theologians of the Netherlands, representing withal a moderately liberal tendency, was *Venema* († 1787) of Franeker. Belonging to the Cocceian school of theology, in as far as he held to an organic unity of development in both Testaments, yet especially under the influence of Schultens, he combined the historico-critical investigation with living religious insight, as appeared already in his inaugural address, “*De zelo veritatis et pietatis genuinae et caritatis pleno.*” He explained the Psalms historically, and referred many passages regarded as Messianic to the time of the Maccabees; he showed that the second part of Judges betrays a different hand from the first; that the Books of Samuel were not written by Samuel himself; that the Song of Solomon portrayed originally no mystical, but merely a natural love, viz. that of Solomon and his beloved. Astruc’s view “*Sur les mémoires originaux, dont il paraît que Moyse s’est servi pour composer la Genèse,*” he appropriated with some reservation. The Apocalypse, as well as the fourth Gospel he vindicated, indeed, to John as the author, but did not believe that they were edited by John himself. We see that in the Netherlands — thanks to philological ability and thoroughness — the emancipation of Scripture study from the bonds of ecclesiastical dogmatism made a slower but more solid advance than in Germany. But in general, the character of this period (from the middle of the seventeenth to the middle of the eighteenth century), was the same here as there; the struggling of biblical linguistic and historical science against traditional ecclesiastical dogmatism — a battle difficult, at first barren of results, but later always more and more successful, with the same.

Clericus.

Venema.

Germany
and the
Nether-
lands com-
pared.

28. Transitional Period in Exegesis.

The appearing of *Semler* and *Ernesti* may be designated as the dividing line between the preceding and the succeeding epochs. *J. S. Semler* (1725–1791) is the founder of Biblical Semler. Criticism in Germany. Despite the labors of R. Simon and Wetstein, the Biblical Canon was regarded at the time of Semler's appearance as an organic whole equally inspired in all its parts. Semler's "Abhandlung vom freien Gebrauch des Kanons" (1771–1774) showed the human historical origin and constitution of the Canon after he had already, in his treatise "Ueber die Dämonischen," represented certain biblical views as mere conceptions of the time. Especially influential was his "Apparatus ad interpretationem Novi Testamenti." To him it is more than doubtful, whether the biblical books were designed to serve as a firm doctrinal standard for all men; certain he was that Jesus and his apostles accommodated themselves to Jewish opinions. Nevertheless, Semler was no Rationalist; he explained in his introduction to Baumgarten's "Glaubenslehre"; "I would not certainly make our poor little reason the mistress of our faith." But his views on the Canon and on the Text of the Bible, on the local and temporal opinions in Scripture, on the accommodation of Jesus to these opinions, was a seed, which — to Semler's own chagrin — once planted, grew all too luxuriantly. *J. A. Ernesti* (1707–1781), Ernesti. the celebrated philologist, became important for theology, and especially for biblical study through his "Institutio Interpretis Novi Testamenti"¹ (1761 and often), a book which delivered Biblical Exegesis from its theological exceptional position, and brought it under the general category of philological interpretation. He set forth the following principles, which have been received as the imperishable heritage of posterity: To be unconditionally rejected is the notion of a manifold sense of Scripture, and the verbal meaning is to be held fast; hence allegorizing and typologizing are reprehensible, unless the author

His system
of Hermeneu-
tics.

¹ An excellent translation, with additions, was made by Professor Moses Stuart, and published at Andover in 1842. — TR.

himself give it to be understood that with the verbal sense he has meant to combine still another. Inasmuch as the verbal meaning or the *sensus grammaticus* is common to sacred and profane writings, the *sense* of words is to be no otherwise sought and found in Scripture than it is to be sought and found in profane literature. False and ruinous is all interpretation of Scripture that explains the verbal sense according to the pre-supposed actual sense, instead of conversely deriving the actual sense from the verbal. The method of ascertaining the sense in Scripture, therefore, is just as little an arbitrary one as in profane writings; but, as in the latter, it is governed by linguistic laws. Where the sense is disputed, the verbal sense must not be controlled by the real sense, nor must greater weight be attached to dogmatic considerations than to grammatical. These principles are really no other than those laid down by the Reformers. Melancthon had long ago said: "Non potest Scriptura intelligi theologicè, nisi antea intellecta sit grammaticè." The difference lies only in the fact that Ernesti, equipped with richer and more assured philological knowledge, expressed these principles with greater consistency and distinctness. While, however, Ernesti and Semler had maintained such principles without the forsaking of personal piety, these principles were laid hold of by a method of thought foreign to the Christian spirit and to the historical sense, and were made subservient to a superficial treatment of Scripture. Long ago Deism in England had been shaking faith in the Bible and in Christianity among the educated; long ago Voltaire and the Encyclopædists in France, with wit and satire for their weapons, had undermined Christian faith, and had set up Sensualism in its place; and in Germany in Semler's time, appeared the "Wolfenbüttel Fragments," which not only subjected the biblical miracles to a destructive criticism, dissolving the resurrection of Jesus by the contradictions of the Gospel accounts, but referred "the object of Jesus and his disciples" to fanaticism and deceit. From 1765 onwards, appeared *F. Nicolai's* "Allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek," as a

Not essentially different from that of the Reformers.

The Wolfenbüttel Fragments.

Nicolai.

tribunal of the dominant interpretation, which made war not only upon Orthodoxy, but upon every manifestation of higher fantasy and deeper feeling. We see now what influence theology, and especially exegesis experienced from such a revolution of the method of thought. In matters of biblical study, especially of Old Testament study, *J. D. Michaëlis* of Göttingen († 1791) was still esteemed as a high authority in the second half of the eighteenth century. Learned, theologically conservative, but, more than he was conscious of, under the influence of the spirit of the time, his attention was predominantly directed to the realistic, while an apprehension of the biblical spirit is often looked for in vain in him. Entirely to the new enlightening belonged, on the other hand, *W. Abr. Teller* (1734–1804), whose *Wörterbuch des N. Testaments* Michaëlis
Teller. (1772 and often) is especially worthy of notice. The flattening of Christian thoughts and conceptions is here strikingly manifest. *Repent* is rendered, “become better”; *to convert* is rendered “to restore to a righteous disposition”; the *kingdom of Heaven* becomes “the new religious constitution”; the *high priesthood of Christ* is a designation of the “highest official of God in the moral world”; the *atonement* is “the union of men among themselves into one religion;” and in general the “Jewish-Greek” style of the New Testament is translated into the “philosophical.” The Wertheim translation of the Bible (1735) had already furnished the most extreme example of the application to Scripture of this bald, and at the same time affected, illumination. It is evident that, with such views of Scripture, exegesis could not thrive; for what interest could men have in writings, for whose specific contents and spirit they had no longer any understanding. Yet it would be a great injustice to make Ernesti and Semler responsible for all this.

29. Kant's Hermeneutical Theory.

Kant grounded his hermeneutical theory on a perception of Kant. the difference between faith in revelation, or ecclesiastical faith, and rational faith (see his “Religion innerhalb der

The moral
and the
theological
interpreta-
tion.

Grenzen der blossen Vernunft, ed. Kirchmann,"¹ pp. 129 ff.). In as far, to wit, as religion, in order to gain general recognition, needs a church, and this, sacred writings, an interpretation of these latter is necessary. The aim of this interpretation must be on the one hand to derive from the Scriptures the principles of pure religion, and on the other hand to interpret them as historical writings. The former is the *moral* interpretation, and ministers to religion; the latter is the *theological* interpretation, and ministers to the church. Kant himself, expresses his view with regard to the former, as follows: "Even although a writing has been accepted as divine revelation, the highest criterion of this must still be, 'all Scripture delivered by God, is profitable for doctrine, for correction, for improvement,' etc.,² and since the last, viz. the moral bettering of man, constitutes the proper object of all rational religion; this latter likewise must contain the supreme principle of all Scripture interpretation. This religion is 'the spirit of God that leads us into all truth.' But this spirit is one which, while it teaches us, quickens us at the same time with principles for actions, and it refers whatever the Scriptures may still contain for historical faith entirely to the regulation and the guidance of the one moral faith, which alone in every ecclesiastical confession of faith constitutes that in it which is distinctively religion." The consideration that such an interpretation cannot lead to the real sense of Scripture, Kant obviates by the assertion that the sense thus arrived at is not, indeed, to be given out as that had in mind by the author, and that such an interpretation of their sacred books has been practised by all ancient peoples. But this allegorical interpretation of Scripture precisely could hardly be called an explanation of it, and if it be conceded that these interpretations do not correspond to the original sense, men will relinquish in advance all hope of arriving

Objections
to Kant's
view.

¹ "Religion within the limits of mere Reason."

² This method of interpreting 2 Tim. iii. 16 is, perhaps, the correct one, and is that followed in the Vulgate and the Peshito Syriac versions (the Gothic accords with the English version). — TR.

at a true explanation. The defect of this hermenutical theory consists not only in its reduction of the biblical religion to mere morality, but more still in the setting up of a dualism between the moral and the historical sense, which a genuine exegesis removes or makes superfluous.¹

30. Rationalism and Supernaturalism.

While Rationalism, in more decided or more moderate form, was the order of the day, there were not wanting, on the other hand, efforts to retain or to save, as far as possible, the old faith. After the precedent of the English and the Dutch, the German apologists had also sought to refute the arguments of Deists, Naturalists, and Rationalists, and to oppose a dam to the stream of the dominant spirit of the time. Gradually there arose two parallel lines of religious thought, *Rationalism* and *Supernaturalism*. The former disputed the necessity and the cognizability of a supernatural revelation, and saw the essence of religion in what human reason can grasp, i.e. chiefly in morality. The Supernaturalists, on the contrary, maintained the insufficiency of the human reason, and the necessity of a supernatural revelation. To the Rationalistic school belonged, for the Old Testament especially W. Gesenius, and for the New Testament in particular E. Gottlob Paulus, Fritzsche, and Dav. Schulz. *Wilh. Gesenius* († 1842), Professor at Halle, of great merit as a Shemitic scholar, and as an Old Testament exegete, is chiefly celebrated through his commentary on Isaiah.² In the highest degree meritorious is his exegesis, in a linguistic and historical point of view, though this

Rational-
ism.
Supernat-
uralism.

Gesenius.

¹ Far more correct than that of Kant is the hermeneutical principle of Spinoza (see his "Tract. theol.-polit. ch. vii.), who urges with emphasis that the biblical interpreter should observe the peculiarities of the language in which, and the nature of the time and of the doctrine for which, the book under discussion was written; in opposition to which all church authority is only an unsafe guide. From this we may understand how justly the "Philosophia Scriptura S. Interpres" of L. Meyer the Spinozist, has been attributed to Spinoza himself.

² Gesenius is celebrated far more as grammarian and lexicographer than as exegete. The statement in the text was probably intended to refer only to his work as exegete. — Tr.

Paulus.

scholar had less appreciation for the religious and the ideal. *Eberh. Gottl. Paulus* († 1851), Professor at Jena, afterwards at Heidelberg, the most genuine representative of Rationalism, gained his celebrity chiefly through his “*Memorabilia*,” through his “*Life of Jesus*,” and through his “*Commentary on the Synoptic Gospels*.” He himself designates his exegetical method as the “psychologico-pragmatic.” In the most outspoken opposition to everything mystical, he regarded the essence of the Christian religion as “practical fidelity to reason.” *Πίστις* was to him “fidelity to conviction;” this fidelity to conviction, together with the spiritual justification represented in Scripture as its possible result, is in his view the distinctive characteristic of Jesus. His explanation of miracles has become most notorious of all. In considering the miracles of Jesus two questions, arise: *Whether* they occurred, and if so, *how* what has indeed occurred may possibly have occurred. Here was opened a wide field for conjecture. With this barren, nay frivolous, conception of Scripture, and of primitive Christianity, the exegesis of Paulus has yet the not insignificant merit of an accurate real¹ explanation; his chronological researches in particular are of considerable value. If we would estimate the *good* fruits that have accrued to exegesis from the bosom of Rationalism, we must remember the enduring merits of G. B. Winer and K. F. Aug. Fritzsche. Grammatical exegesis even in the first decades of the nineteenth century was sadly defective; the enallage of tenses, of cases and of the particles was most wretchedly abused, as may be seen even in the commentaries of such men as Koppe, Rosenmüller, Paulus and Kuinöl. The celebrated philologist J. G.

Hermann.

Hermann appeared with his writing “*De emendanda ratione Graecae grammaticae*,” and taught his pupils to consider the Greek language as a historical organism, and to comprehend it from the principles of human thought. To the inspired dis-

¹ This slightly un-English use of the word “real,” has been retained throughout the work for lack of a convenient idiomatic term. “Real” is opposed to ideal, moral, religious, etc., and is used to denote the historical, geographical, ethnological, etc. — Tr.

ciples of Hermann belonged *Georg Benedict Winer*, whose *Winer*.
 “Grammatik des Neutestamentlichen Sprachidioms”¹ (first
 published in 1822, and often), has become a classical guide for
 exegesis; and *K. F. Aug. Fritzsche* († 1846) Professor first *Fritzsche*
 at Rostock and afterwards at Giessen, whose dissertations “*De*
nonnullis posterioris Pauli ad Corinthios epistolae locis,” com-
 mentaries on Matthew (1826), on Mark (1830), on Romans
 (1836–1843) are distinguished in a text-critical and grammati-
 cal point of view. When he is reproached with elevating
 grammar above all other sciences, and with occupying himself
 chiefly with particles and such like minutiae, this of course is
 true, to the extent that the reader of his commentaries, after
 having struggled through the wilderness of critical and gram-
 matical discussions, seeks in vain for light on the sense of the
 passages under consideration. Yet it must be said on the
 other hand; 1) that grammar is, and must always remain the
 foundation of all exegesis; 2) that truth always makes its
 first appearance in a somewhat distorted form, whenever it has
 to force an ingress in the face of error; and 3) that this one-
 sided character is in his last principal work happily overcome,
 and that in this at least — thanks to philological precision and
 conscientiousness — his Rationalism never comes to the surface.
Dav. Schulz († 1854), Professor at Breslau, as a decided rep- *Schulz*.
 resentative of the older Rationalism, has allowed this tendency
 of his, more than Fritzsche, to influence his theological activity.
 Among his exegetical works his Commentary on the Epistle to
 the Hebrews, his treatise on the parable of the Steward, and
 that “*Ueber die Geistesgaben der ersten Christen, insbeson-*
dere die s. g. Gabe der Sprachen,”² are the most important.
 He rendered a service also through his enlarged and improved
 edition of Griesbach’s New Testament. As regards his theo-
 logical position, he found his calling “in battling for light and

¹ Winer’s “Grammar of the Idiom of the N. T.,” has been frequently translated into English. The best and most convenient editions are those by Professor Thayer, and Mr. Moulton. — Tr.

² “On the Spiritual Gifts of the Early Christians, especially the so-called Gift of Tongues.”

right and truth, and this to the end that day might henceforth dawn in the evangelical church." Lastly, we must not pass over the most noted representative of the older Rationalism in

Schulthess.

Switzerland, *Joh. Schulthess* (1779–1836). Although his exegetical performances are of comparatively trifling importance, and are now almost forgotten, yet he is here to be named as one who considered himself the genuine forwarder of Zwingle's work ; grounding his theology entirely upon the Bible, which he could only do by means of an empty rationalistic exegesis. Over against this Rationalism, dominant throughout several decades, the conservative or *Supernaturalistic* biblical students also are to be named with honor ; and in this respect it is the *older Tübingen school* that distinguished itself as the chief representative of the latter tendency, about the close of the eighteenth, and the beginning of the nineteenth century.

The older
Tübingen
school.

Storr

Although the founder of this school, *G. Christ. Storr* († 1805), gained his reputation more in Apologetics, Dogmatics, and Practical Theology, and although his exegetical treatises are no longer much read, yet through his arguing for the truth and the divinity of Christianity he became so truly a sign of his time and direction, in that he — in opposition to the old and genuine Orthodoxy which discriminated between the *fides humana* and the *fides divina* in Scripture, and which regarded the *testimonium Spiritus S.* as the true and only ground of the latter — held this proof to be insufficient, and based faith in the divinity of Scripture on miracles ; but the reality of miracles on the trustworthiness and genuineness of the documents in which they are narrated, — proof which, according to the old Orthodoxy, would serve as the foundation of only a *fides humana*. In Storr's footsteps followed *Gottl. Süsskind*, *Joh. Friedr.* and *Karl Christian Flatt*, important rather through their apologetical activity, directed against the philosophy of Fichte and Schelling, and finally against Schleiermacher also, than through their exegetical performances. The last famous representative of this school, and more important for biblical study than either of those just mentioned, is *J. Christ. Friedr.*

Followers
of Storr.

Steudel († 1857). As practical exegete, indeed, sharing the defects of the school of *Storr*, he has the merit, through such special hermeneutical investigations as those “*Ueber die Behandlung der Sprache der heil. Schrift als einer Sprache des Geistes*,” — “*Ueber tiefern Schriftsinn*,” — and “*Ueber die Auslegung der Propheten*,”¹ of having promoted biblical study, and of having maintained, against the transcendentalism of *Olshausen* and *Hengstenberg*, the right of the grammatico-historical interpretation. One of the most excellent exegetes of this school was *Georg Christ. Knapp* († 1825), Professor at Halle. Among his “*Scripta varii argumenti, maximam partem exegetici*” (first published in 1805) are to be found exegetico-theological treatises of lasting worth. The following are the most important: *De Spiritu Sancto et Christo Paracletis*; *Commentatio in colloquium Christi cum Nicodemo*; *Exercitatio in locum de novo praecepto Christi*; *Prolusio in locum epistolae ad Romanos, 7, 21 sq.*; *De dispari formula docendi . . . de fide et factis*. If hitherto we have considered exegesis under the influence of the antagonism between Rationalism and Supernaturalism, we have, entirely passed over the influence which the religious awakening of 1813 ff. had upon biblical study. Although the men whom we have considered were active, in great part, in a time chronologically far posterior to this epoch; yet they were rooted as regards their spirit and their theological tendency in the impulses of the eighteenth century — the Rationalists indeed, as well as the Supernaturalists; the *Rationalists* in as far as their conception of the world was rooted partly in Subjectivism and partly in Empiricism, and their view of Scripture and their treatment of Scripture was thoroughly permeated with Criticism and Humanism; the *Supernaturalists*, in as far as they were affected more than they knew by the Empiricism and the Subjectivism of the time; having abandoned in their treatment of Scripture the old

The religious awakening of 1813.

¹ “On the Treatment of the Language of Scripture as a Language of the Spirit,” — “On the Deeper Sense of Scripture,” and “On the Interpretation of the Prophets.”

Another point of relation between Rationalism and Supernaturalism.

Orthodox principle, and yet in all their battles with Rationalism and Criticism not being able entirely to resist the elements of truth contained therein. But in still another point of view Rationalism and Supernaturalism were more nearly related than their representatives believed; viz. they both rested on the inscrutability of religion, as the only root of action as of knowledge, the Rationalists laying stress on the *acting*, without reference to its principle; and the Supernaturalists, in turn, on the *knowing*, without reference to its source. Since, now, the spirit of the Bible lies in precisely this simple principle, the consideration and treatment of the Bible could not but be one-sided and defective, as is illustrated most clearly, on the one side, in Paulus; on the other, in Storr. In this unconscious agreement in a defective principle lay also the impossibility of mutual understanding as well as of substantial progress.

31. A Truer Stand-point Reached.

Positive progress.

The Poets.

Herder.

It lies in the nature of historical development that upon the dominant negation something positive must follow, and upon the domination of empty intelligence the reaction of a spirited and heartfelt tendency. Various circumstances prepared the way for this revolution; other circumstances gave the immediate impulse. First of all, it was the appearing of the great German poets and their praiseworthy works, that awakened and disseminated the sense for the beautiful, the ideal, the purely human. Influenced in part by this awakening, and himself in part co-operating powerfully with it, *J. G. v. Herder* (1744–1803) became a great source of influence, as for German literature and culture in general, so in particular for a more lively conception and treatment of the Bible. Fundamentally opposed to all dogmatism and scholasticism, borne along by the idea of “Humanity,” he looked at the biblical writings also from the point of view of the beautiful and the purely human. In this interest he wrote his treatise “*Die älteste Urkunde des Menschengeschlechts*,” in his “*Lieder der Liebe*,” he treats the Song of Solomon, otherwise always explained allegorically, and vividly and brilliantly does he throw light upon “*Der*

Geist der hebräischen Poesie." He sought also to revive the study of the New Testament through his "Erläuterungen zum N. T. aus einer neu eröffneten morgenländischen Quelle," though his writing on the Epistles of the two brothers of Jesus (James and Jude) and especially through his "*Ματθ. ἀθά*, oder das Buch von der Zukunft des Herrn."¹ From Herder proceeded the aesthetic treatment of Scripture, and though his works in this department are more brilliant than thorough, more inspiring than exhaustive, yet he must be designated as the forerunner of the more recent theology. Another preparatory symptom was the change wrought in German philosophy through Fichte, Jacobi, Schelling, Hegel; and indeed, the vibration from absolute Idealism and Subjectivism to ideal Realism was already consummated even in Fichte. This change ministered essentially to a fundamental and living comprehension of religion, as was realized in Schelling's "Religion and Philosophy," in Daub's "Theologoumena," but altogether pre-eminently in Schleiermacher. But more than all else did the years of war and the inspiration of the war of liberty (1813 ff.) contribute to the awakening of religious earnestness, and faith. The newly-awakened religious need could develop itself and seek to bring itself to recognition in either of two directions. On the one hand, enriched with the inheritance of the elements of culture and the acquisitions of the time just past, rejecting only the unscientific and the irreligious barren intelligence, it could come forward as a new fructifying element; on the other hand, rejecting the entire period of illumination as apostasy from the faith and united with the remnants of Pietism, it could seek to restore the stand-point of the seventeenth century. We must speak first of the former direction, and its influence on exegesis. *Friedr. Schleiermacher* (1768-1834), as Coryphaeus, stands naturally at the head. He

The German Philosophers.

The war of 1813.

Two possibilities.

Schleiermacher.

¹ "The most ancient record of the human race," — "Songs of Love," — "Spirit of Hebrew Poetry," — "Illustrations of the N. T. from a newly opened Oriental Source," — "*Ματθ. ἀθά*, or the Book of the Advent of the Lord."

accomplished little, indeed, in practical Scripture interpretation; his mistaking of the importance of the Old Testament is universally recognized as an essential defect of his theology. But his "Hermeneutics," published after his death by Lücke is rich in profound and brilliant thoughts. He was the first to call attention to the fact that the New Testament language, side by side with the Hellenistic basis and the Hebrew-Aramaic elements, contains a new specifically Christian element. He established fundamentally and vigorously the boundaries between the dogmatic and the philosophical explanations, and threw light on the vexed question — in how far the Scriptures, and especially the New Testament, are to be treated as an organic whole or as a multiplicity of independent writings. Already, during his life-time he inspired and furthered source-criticism in particular, through his pioneering investigations on the writings of Luke, and on the First Epistle to Timothy. In general, there proceeded from Schleiermacher an impulse that could not fail to exert an important influence on Scripture interpretation.

His "Hermeneutics,"

Lücke.

We must speak next of *F. Lücke* (1791–1855), who labored first in Berlin, then at Bonn, and from 1828 at Göttingen. The first edition of his Commentary on the Gospel of John, which suffered yet from a certain mystical and passionate one-sidedness, was followed by a second and a third edition. In his youthful production, "Die Hermeneutik und ihre Geschichte,"¹ he set forth his entire and full conviction with refer-

His view of the interpreters work.

ence to the relation of theology to Scripture. He condemns the view that Scripture requires of the interpreter nothing more than any other ancient writing; he requires of the interpreter, before everything else, love for the one word of God. To seek and to find this in Scripture he holds to be the work of the exegete. Notwithstanding this he would relinquish nothing of the fundamental conditions of all exegesis, viz. the discovery of the grammatical and the historical sense and character of the writing and of its individual parts. This he proved in his elaborate introduction to the Apocalypse. Among those ex-

¹ Hermeneutics and its History.

eges who stand under the influence of the new believing spirit, and who seek to further the same, *Aug. Tholuck*, of *Tholuck*. Halle, must be mentioned. Through his Commentaries on the Sermon on the Mount, on the Gospel of John, on the Epistle to the Romans, and on the Epistle to the Hebrews, he has gained for himself a name among Scripture interpreters. Meritorious in this relation is his fruitful use of the Fathers, as well as his liberal position with reference to inspiration — a position which, however, he has not held consistently. On the other hand, his exegesis leaves much to be desired in grammatical accuracy. *Friedr. Bleek*, on the contrary (1793–1859), *Bleek*. first at Berlin, from 1829 onward at Bonn, made his appearance furnished with all the acquisitions of the earlier and the more recent time. After having published in 1828 his elaborate Introduction to the Epistle to the Hebrews, he brought out his Commentary on this Epistle (1836–1840), which in grammatical and critical accuracy and circumspection, in correct and profound insight into the course of thought, and in the theological estimate of the religious contents of this Epistle, leaves nothing to be desired. Of his valuable biblical treatises that appeared in the “*Theol. Studien und Kritiken*” we may here mention that on the *γλώσσαις λαλεῖν*, observations on the dogmatic use of O. T. expressions in the N. T., on the age of Zechariah ix.–xiv., on the position of the O. T. Apocrypha in the Christian Canon, on the Messianic prophecies in the Book of Daniel. His “*Beiträge zur Evangelienkritik*”¹ (1846) are very excellent. From his literary remains, *Kampfhausen* and *J. F. Bleek* have prepared: “*Einleitung in das A. T.*,” “*Einleitung in das N. T.*,” “*Synopt. Erklärung der drei ersten Evangelien*,”² ed. *Holtzmann*, and his *Lectures on the Apocalypse*.³ With *Bleek* we may class *W. M. L. de Wette* (1780–1849), *DeWette*.

¹ “Contributions to the Criticism of the Gospels.”

² “Introduction to the Old Test.,” — “Introduction to the New Test., — Synoptic Explanation of the first three Gospels.” The first two have been published in English. So also have *Tholuck*’s works and *De Wette*’s Introductions, above named.

³ A greatly enlarged edition of *Bleek*’s Introductions, edited by *Mangold*,

University teacher first in Heidelberg, then in Berlin, and from 1822 onward in Basel. After the publication of his somewhat prosy Commentary on the Psalms, he gained an imperishable name as a critic and exegete, chiefly through his "Historico-critical Introduction to the Canonical and Apocryphal Books of the O. T." (first published in 1817), through his "Introduction to the N. T.," and through his "Concise exegetical Hand-book to the N. T." (1836-1848, recently edited by Brückner). Though a friend of Schleiermacher, he had yet imbibed more of the spirit of Herder, in as far as he viewed religion and its records rather from the aesthetic side, but he surpassed Herder by far in scientific rigor and thoroughness. Bold as a critic, he became later in life always more and more circumspect. On the appearance of Strauss's "Life of Jesus," he explained himself in such a way as to give the preference to the mystical explanation of miracles over the so-called natural explanation, but he attached a far greater importance to the historical personality of Jesus than did Strauss. In the preface to his Commentary on the Apocalypse, finally, he made the following

His confession of faith.

confession: "Whatever may be the fate of our Protestant church, I know that in no other name is salvation than in the name of Jesus Christ the crucified." As the organ of these strivings, inspired chiefly by Schleiermacher, the "Theol. Studien und Kritiken," founded by Schleiermacher, DeWette, and Lücke, has contained many valuable articles, both in an exegetical and in a biblico-theological point of view. By the side of DeWette's Hand-book stands worthily the Commentary of Heinrich August Wilhelm Meyer¹ (begun in 1829 and con-

Meyer.

was published at Berlin in 1875. His Lectures on Ephesians, Philippians, and Colossians, edited by Nitzsch, appeared in 1865.

¹ The critical and exegetical works of Meyer are, 1) A critically revised Greek text with a German translation (1829), never carried beyond the first edition, and now almost forgotten. It is now of scarcely any value, so great has been the advance in this department of theological science. 2) Commentaries, including the Gospels, Acts, and the Pauline Epistles. Most of these reached the fourth, some of them the fifth, and one of them (on Matthew) the sixth, edition. On Meyer and his works, compare Art. by Mr. H. S. Burrage, in the *Bibliotheca Sacra* for January 1875, and Art. by

tinued in new editions, and with the assistance of Lünemann, Huther, and Düsterdieck, till his death in 1873), through grammatical accuracy, through a, for the most part, excellent conception of the sense and connection, through discreet use of materials, a work in the highest degree useful, nay indispensable. Finally. *Sam. Lutz* (1785–1844), Professor at Bern, takes an Lutz. honorable position in this category of exegetes. He published indeed, no exegetical work, and is, therefore, little known in wider circles; but as academic teacher, through his philological accuracy, through his never wearying—rather always in the highest degree inspiring—exegetical dialectics, through his profound comprehension of the biblical spirit in the individual parts and in the whole, he made a lasting impression upon his hearers. From his literary remains Ad. Lutz edited his “Hermeneutics” and R. Rüetschi his “Biblical Dogmatics” (1847). If we would state succinctly the fundamental characteristic of this class of exegetes, especially in its relation to that of the preceding epoch, we might say: that it consists in the fact that, in a general theological point of view, it does not mediate between Rationalism and Supernaturalism, but stands, and desires to stand, *above* them both as a mediation of faith and knowledge; and that, in its relation to Scripture interpretation in particular, it consists in its free appropriation of, nay its improvement upon, the philological helps and acquisitions of the preceding period, regarding as it did the work of interpretation as incomplete so long as the *religious sense and spirit* of the biblical author has not also been ascertained. In relation to the New Testament this has been done especially by Lücke, Tholuck, Bleek, DeWette, and Lutz.

Character-
istic of this
class of ex-
egetes.

This may be the most proper place to mention the services which *Griesbach*, *Matthäi*, *Scholz*, *Lachmann*, and *Tischendorf* have rendered to *Textual Criticism*.¹ *Griesbach*, in his critical Text-
Critics.

the translator in the Baptist Quarterly for October 1874, republished in Dickinson's Theological Quarterly (London) for January 1875. These Commentaries are now in course of translation and publication in English. by Messrs. T. and T. Clark, Edinburgh. — Tr.

¹ It will be noticed that our author here, as throughout this section,

edition of the New Testament 1796 (new edition of the first part by D. Schulz 1827), not only collected a richer critical apparatus than his predecessors, but also set forth the correct principles of criticism. An entirely new system was introduced by Lachmann. While even Griesbach, making the Textus Receptus his basis, only received into his text variations to be accepted on external and internal grounds, Lachmann sought to restore the oldest possible text, namely, that of the fourth century, which then might serve as a firm foundation for critical operations. This procedure met with much opposition, inasmuch as Lachmann, aiming to give the Oriental text, and giving weight to the Occidental testimonies only where the Oriental differ (as often), did not, in consequence, altogether exclude arbitrariness. The greatest service for Textual Criticism has been rendered by Constantine Tischendorf (†1874), as well through his enriched and verified critical apparatus as quietly ignores what has been done in recent times towards the promotion of biblical science outside of the Continent of Europe. He does not think it worth his while to mention the brilliant and considerate efforts of *Tregelles* in Textual Criticism, the less brilliant, the too conservative, but yet extremely careful, and hence very useful, work of *Scrivener*, and the progressing labors of *Westcott* and *Hort*, which last seem destined to result in by far the best and most correct edition of the New Testament, — as correct, perhaps, as in the present state of science it is possible to attain to. We may here mention the fact that Tregelles is the father of a great school in Textual Criticism, which is constantly gaining ground in Europe and in America; and that Westcott and Hort belong to this school. Compare on Tischendorf an elaborate Article in the *Bibliotheca Sacra* for January 1876, by *Mr. C. R. Gregory*, an Article in the *Unitarian Review* for March 1875, by *Prof. Ezra Abbot*, and an excellent Article, unhappily published only in a weekly paper, and hence not very generally read, by *Prof. John A. Broadus*. A good popular exhibition of the Textual Criticism of the Tregellesian school is to be found in the little work of *Hammond*, "Textual Criticism applied to the New Testament;" and in the Article of Dr. Gardiner in the *Bibliotheca Sacra* for 1875, since published in book form. See also an Article on Tregelles, in the *New York Independent* for July 1, 1875, by *Prof. Ezra Abbot*; and an interesting Article by *Milligan*, in the *British and Foreign Evangelical Review* for January 1876: "Tischendorf and Tregelles as Editors of the Greek New Testament." Among the ablest Text-Critics in America — and they compare very favorably with the English Critics mentioned above — are *Prof. Ezra Abbot*, *Prof. John A. Broadus*, *Prof. J. H. Thayer*, and *Ex-President Woolsey* — Tr.

through his numerous editions of the New Testament (among which we may call special attention to the Editio VIII. critica major, etc.¹) ; as well as also through his editions of single important manuscripts, especially of the Sinaitic. The principles of Textual Criticism also were still more accurately determined by Tischendorf than by Griesbach.

32. A Revival of Orthodoxy.

But the religious awakening which followed upon the German war of liberty took still another form. Side by side with the philosophizing, brilliant theology of Schleiermacher and Hegel, there existed still a popular realistic, religious need² The popular religious need. which was attracted and satisfied far more by the fresh and vehement manner of a Luther. The purest and freshest representative of this tendency was Klaus Harms, who at the Reformation festival 1817, as a second Luther, in his ninety-five theses, threw down the gauntlet to Rationalism. Men looked with longing for the old unbroken faith and its symbols. Hand in hand with this popular need went a politico-ecclesiastical *restoration* and a theology which regarded the whole scientific development of the eighteenth century as apostasy The restoration-theology. and looked for the salvation of the world only in the greatest possible renewing of the old faith in the Bible and the creed. The great leader of this apologetico-polemic restoration-theology was *W. Hengstenberg*, from 1826 Professor at Berlin, and from 1827 editor of "Die Evangelische Kirchenzeitung." One-sided as his theology must be called, however much impurity³ attaches to this name, yet as a biblical investigator he has an Klaus Harms. Hengstenberg.

¹ Unfortunately Tischendorf died before preparing Prolegomena to the eighth critical edition. The Prolegomena to the seventh edition have to do service, albeit very imperfectly, also for the eighth. Mr. Gregory states in the Article referred to above, doubtless on good authority, that the work of preparing Prolegomena to the eighth critical edition from Tischendorf's materials has been intrusted to a Dr. Gebhardt. We unite with Mr. Gregory in the hope that he may be enabled to do a thorough piece of work, worthy of Tischendorf himself. Mr. Gregory gives what seems to be a well-nigh complete exhibit of Tischendorf's published works. — TR.

² Glaubensbedürfniss.

³ Moral impurity is, of course, not intended. — TR.

indisputable merit. His "Christology of the Old Testament," — returning in the first edition to the Old Protestant view of prophecy, but admitting in the later editions essentially modern ideas — made an epoch, in that it brought to the consciousness, in its importance and eternal truth, the prophetic contents of the Old Testament. Here, indeed, as well as in his "Contributions to the Introduction to the Old Testament," he strives to repudiate as much as possible the results of historico-critical inquiry as "Rationalism," and to save, e.g. the genuineness of the Book of Daniel and of the second part of Zechariah, as well as to obliterate and remove the incongruity between the Old Testament citations in the New Testament, and the genuine sense of these passages. For this work a rich arsenal of modern learning stood at his command. His theology has, therefore, justly been called "repristination theology." The correctness of this designation rests chiefly upon Hengstenberg's fundamental pre-supposition of the essential identity of the contents of Scripture with the contents of the confessional writings and the doctrines of the church. In the same path walked his pupils *Keil*, *Häverník*, and *W. Steiger*. Here also we must not forget *Tholuck*, who through Pietism is connected with the "Evangelische Kirchenzeitung," but through his free-thinking with Schleiermacher and Neander. The Appendix to his Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews, "The Old Testament in the New," is more nearly related to the former. In still another than the Orthodox way the newly awakened religious need also manifested itself in theology, viz. as *mystical* theology and Scripture interpretation. Here are Olshausen and Stier to be mentioned. *Hermann Olshausen* (1766–1839), Professor at Königsberg, and afterwards at Erlangen, through his two writings on "The Deeper Sense of Scripture," and through his "Commentary on all the Writings of the New Testament,"¹ exerted a very wide influence. He wished to emancipate Scripture study from the shackles as well

Keil, Häverník, Steiger, and Tholuck.

The mystical theology. Olshausen.

¹ The best English edition of Olshausen's Commentary is that edited by Dr. A. C. Kendrick. — TR.

of the dogmatic as of the grammatical interpretation, and to bring to recognition the divine revelation in Scripture and its central point Christ, in their living unity with God as well as with humanity. Olshausen was in so far opposed to the ordinary Supernaturalism as he found the mystery of the Scripture revelation paralleled by the mystery of the spiritual corporeal nature of man. True religious life was to him, therefore, the condition of a correct understanding of Scripture. Kindred, and yet different, is the theological character of *Rudolf Stier* Stier. (1800–1862). A romantically adjusted nature, but led, partly through the religious feature of the time, partly through inner experiences, to a decisive faith in Christ, satisfied with neither Neander nor Lücke, he labored principally as a practical clergyman. But as a thoroughly biblical theologian, he has developed, even in an exegetical relation, a fruitful and inspiring activity, principally through his “Words of the Lord Jesus.”¹ Besides this, he has done important service through his revision of Luther’s translation of the Bible. His Scripture interpretation may be characterized as the dogmatico-mystical. The Holy Spirit is to him so much the auctor primarius of Scripture, that the human author recedes entirely into the background. Yet he does not return to the old Orthodox doctrine of inspiration, since not in the letters but in the contents of Scripture does the Holy Spirit bear witness. The principal defect of his Scripture interpretation is the lack of sharpness of conception, a result of the deficiency of his scientific preparatory education.

33. The Critical-Speculative Tendency.

Yet side by side with the specifically religious and the manifold mystical-pietistic direction, which dominated in theology from the third decade of the present century, is still another element not to be overlooked, which for a long time maintained dominion in theology; it is the *critical-speculative*. The eminent philosophical activity, which having had in Kant its great

Philosophical activity

¹ This work is accessible in a reasonably good translation, and, though frequently wild in its “spiritualizing,” is always worth consulting. — TR.

inaugurator, in Fichte and Schelling, to some extent also in Schleiermacher, its promoters, had found in Hegel its final shaping. Especially was it this thinker's logical construction of history, from which proceeded an important inspiration. The influence of the Hegelian philosophy was first of all a restraining influence, promotive rather of Orthodoxy, as was to be seen in Daub and Marheineke. The oneness of faith and science was the pre-supposition of this school, and their opposition was regarded as a vanquished stand-point. As long as Hegel lived, the question among his disciples was only who among them had most correctly understood their master. After his death, however, emancipated from this authority, they fixed their attention on the consequences only of the system. The Hegelian pre-supposition, that the idea is developed only in humanity and not in one individual, entered in Strauss' "Life of Jesus" as a revolutionary element into the theological world. The novelty of this work consisted not in the fact that legends and myths were admitted in the Gospel history; but in the fact that this view was carried out and expressed with the most reckless consistency. Strauss exhibited excellently the insufficiency and the defectiveness of the supernaturalistic, as well as of the so-called natural explanation of miracles, and propounded, as the only admissible explanation, the mythical. In general, from this time forward the so-called *Baurian* or *Tübingen school* permeated by the Hegelian spirit, was the supporter of the critical study of the Scriptures. *Ferdinand Christian Baur* (1792-1860), the head of this school, had earlier applied himself far more to the most fundamental investigations in the history of doctrines than to biblical study.¹ In this direction he had already developed an epoch-making literary activity, when through the controversy occasioned by Strauss' "Life of Jesus" he was led to his investigations on the New Testament. Besides his ingenious hypothesis on the occasion and object of the Epistle to the Romans, his most im-

Strauss's
Life of
Jesus.

Tübingen
school.

Baur.

¹ His "Dogmengeschichte" (History of Christian Doctrines) is really a very valuable work. — **TR.**

portant works in this department are: "The Apostle Paul" (1845), and "Critical Investigations on the Canonical Gospels" (1847). Besides these, his smaller works on the Pastoral Epistles, and on the Gospel of Mark are also to be mentioned. All these labors were supported by the thought, that primitive Christianity is to be conceived of in a purely historical manner, and in the dialectic agitation of its elements; in which not so much depends on the persons as on the idea. In addition to the keenness of his criticism, the sometimes excellent development of the course of thought of the New Testament writings in his principal works is to be made prominent. The results of this criticism: the limiting of the genuine Epistles of Paul to the four principal ones, the bringing down of most of the other New Testament writings, especially of the Gospel of John, to an advanced period in the second century; the maintaining that the latter is no historical, but a dogmatic writing, — but especially the proving that the primitive Christianity, making Ebionism its starting-point, developed through the opposition of the latter and Paulinism, until, through accommodation of the opposition, the "catholic" Christianity was formed, and that to this accommodation the greater number of our New Testament writings belong — these results are familiar enough.¹ Yet it was not Baur himself, but, after Strauss, *A. Schwegler*, who Schwegler. with his writing on Montanism, and then especially with his work on "The Post-Apostolic Times" (1846), had broken the ice. More prudently has *E. Zeller*, through his treatise on the Zeller. "Testimonies for the Gospel of John," on the writings of Luke, and especially through his writing on the Acts of the Apostles (1854), furnished contributions to New Testament criticism. The organ of the "Tübingen School" since 1842 was the "Theol. Jahrbücher," founded by Zeller, afterwards undertaken by Baur alone. *Ad. Hilgenfeld's* "Zeitschrift für wissenschaft- Hilgenfeld. liche Theologie," side by side with the periodical referred to,

¹ It is difficult to see whether the author in speaking of Baur's results means to be understood as endorsing them as scientific and well-founded or not. If so, we cannot, of course, agree with him. — TR.

held an important place in this direction, which, as at that time Hilgenfeld himself, was engaged less, it is true, in fathoming the apostolic than the post-apostolic literature. Especially have his works on the Gospels of Justin Martyr, of the Clementines, and of Marcion, and his "*Novum Testamentum extra Canonem receptum*," as also *Volkmar's* New Testament Apocrypha, become very valuable mediately for the historico-critical investigation of the New Testament writings also. For a long time this critical theology maintained to a considerable extent the predominance, but the shipwreck of the Hegelian school, and the events of the year 1848 disclosed a deep precipice, and spread such a terror of the true and supposed consequences of the Hegelian criticism and view of the world, that a *reaction* also in the province of biblical study was unavoidable.

Volkmar.

34. Reaction against the Critical-Speculative Theology.

Hengstenberg.

As champion on this field of reaction against the critical and speculative theology, *Hengstenberg* again meets us. With still greater justice than formerly against the Rationalismus vulgaris, he now comes forward to battle against a system which had brought forth such fruits. The enhanced consciousness of sin, and, in connection with this, submission to the authority of Scripture, hostile to criticism and unconditional; belief in absolute inspiration, and the infallibility of the biblical Canon,—in short, the melting together of Orthodoxy and Pietism, this was the imposing stand-point adopted by Hengstenberg and a host of theologians against that "destructive" theology. Far more decidedly still than heretofore, theology, and not least biblical study, assumed an *apologetical* character. The compatibility of the Mosaic cosmogony with natural science, of the Bible with astronomy, the unity of Genesis, the Mosaic origin of the Pentateuch, the genuineness of the Book of Daniel, and of the second part of Zechariah, the identity of the author of the fourth Gospel with that of the Apocalypse, etc., were defended with a zeal such as if the salvation of the world depended upon them. To a remarkable extent, on the contrary, were the material questions of Christianity neglected by

Apologetical character of the school.

this party, and the *contents* of Scripture were disregarded as compared with the *form*. The Scriptures were looked upon as a stronghold, where the city exists for the sake of the fortifications, and where duty demands before everything else that the weak places be defended, i.e. that what is untenable or precarious be held as more important than the eternal truth itself. Hand in hand with this formal apologetical striving went another theological tendency, viz. the *Chiliastic*. Both form the natural reaction against a theology and a philosophy that had seemed in part to dissolve the foundations of the Christian faith; that in part had given up the world to come in proud self-sufficiency in the present. Still the school of Bengel survived, yea, just at this time it had a new revival, since so many phenomena of the time seemed to prepare for an ever greater and more fundamental separation between the kingdom of Christ and the kingdom of the world and of falsehood. In Rev. xiii. was seen the connection of Anti-Christianity with false philosophy, in 2 Thess. ii. 1-12, the dominant self-deification was unequivocally pointed out. In the momentous phenomena of the time, forebodings of the judgment of the world were found. Such a frame of mind led men to read with avidity the prophetic and eschatological parts of Scripture, especially the Book of Daniel and the Apocalypse, since there a wide field of interpretation was opened up to those who combined with their antagonism towards all historical criticism a love for the mysterious. Add still farther the phantastical tendency of the time, and it is natural that men should turn away from the clear and simple parts of Scripture to those writings that are mysterious and capable of endless interpretations. Those theologians who subscribe to this apologetics for that reward, and who embrace this Chiliastic tendency are, for the most part, religious, learned, and clever men, as *Christ. K. v. Hofmann*, in his work, "Prophecy and its Fulfilment," *Franz Delitzsch* in his "Biblico-prophetic Theology," *Kurtz* ("Text-book of Sacred History,"), *J. P. Lange* ("Positive Dogmatics," pp. 1271 ff.), and pre-eminently *K. A. Auberlen* ("The Prophet

The
Chiliastic
tendency.

Hofmann,
Delitzsch,
and Auber-
len.

Rothe.

Daniel and the Revelation of John.") This last writer gained a very profound insight into the religious spirit and value of prophecy ; so much the more is it to be regretted that he opposed his "theocratic" explanation to the "secular,"¹ as the "rationalistic," as if the ideal and the real history were incompatible ; thereby removing the Apocalypse from its historical ground. With this Chiliastic direction is combined in many the realistic-theosophical. In opposition to an old and new philosophizing and dogmatizing Scripture interpretation, which feels obliged to spiritualize and subtilize the thoughts of the Bible, *R. Rothe* (Preface to Auberlen's "F. Ch. Oetinger"), says with perfect justice : "Our traditional exegesis makes Scripture intelligible to me ; but it does not suffice to make it entirely and purely intelligible. The general contents of the thoughts it knows well how to draw out ; but *the peculiar form* in which these thoughts present themselves there it knows not how to account for. In fact, if the Lord and his Apostles mean to say *only* and *precisely* what the interpreters make them say, they expressed themselves very awkwardly and incommodiously, or, to speak more properly, very extravagantly ;" and farther on, "The system of biblical fundamental ideas, not expressly stated, but only pre-supposed in the Scriptures themselves, is wanting to us ; it is not by any means that of our schools at the present day, and so long as we practise exegesis without this system, the Bible must remain to us a half-closed book. With other fundamental ideas than those current with us, which we are wont to regard as the only possible ones, we must enter upon the study of the Bible, and whatever these ideas may be and wherever it may be proper to seek them, this one thing at least is absolutely certain, in accordance with the whole sound of the melody of Scripture in its natural fulness, that these must be *more realistic*, more 'massive.'" Since it was recognized, that between our conceptions and forms of thought and those of the biblical authors there exists a difference, and that for a perfect understanding of Scripture, an understanding not only of the truths

¹ "Reichsgeschichtlichen," and "Zeitgeschichtlichen."

taught by them, but also of the forms of thought presupposed by them, is requisite; men ought to have been content with this insight, and to have confined themselves to this, viz. to appropriate these conceptions to exegetical use and understanding itself. But when men, now going farther, sought to reconcile that antique biblical conception with modern conceptions and categories, and thus underlaid the biblical writings with a *theosophical system*, they fell into error which could not but falsify Scripture interpretation. The aversion to the simple and the natural, the propensity towards the mysterious, and the presupposition that our reveries must also be those of the sacred authors, this, from the Alexandrines until the present, contributed unspeakably to the corruption of exegesis. (For a more detailed discussion of this subject see Hupfeld's "The Theosophical and Mythological Theology and Scripture Interpretation of To-day." 1861).

Source of error.

35. Exegesis in the Netherlands.

If, by way of supplement, we make a brief survey of the history of exegesis in the *Netherlands*, this is justified by the fact that the church and the theology of the Netherlands, in modern times also, holds an honorable place, and not least in matters of biblical study; that just here the science has had a development very different from the German. Holland has had no Schleiermacher, no Strauss, no Tübingen School. Besides, the Dutch theology has exercised an immediate influence on the church and through the church upon the people and the state. The year 1787, the year of the founding of the Haager Society for the defense of Christianity, is to be regarded as an epoch of the more recent Dutch theology. As Ernesti had done, *Kantelaar* showed that the Bible, while it contains the divine revelations, was written by men who, however much they may have been illuminated, did not cease to be men; and that it must be explained with the help of those means usually applied to books written in dead or living languages. *Bosveld* (1756–1809), the most important Scripture interpreter of this period, was prominent in the last decades of the eighteenth century.

General character.

Haager Society.

Kantelaar.

Bosveld.

This is evident from his explanation of 1 Cor. xv., of the Epistle to the Galatians, in which he was the first to subject the expression *πίστις Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ* to a thorough discussion, decided in a negative sense the relation of Gal. ii. 1 ff., to the Apostolic convention, and also first explained accurately the disputed expression *τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου*, in which he answers affirmatively the question, whether the Apostles erred in their belief in the nearness at hand of the Parousia, appealing to Mark xiii. 32. His explanation of the *ἄνθρωπος τῆς ἁμαρτίας* (2 Thess. ii.) is also a proof of his strictly historical method. Scarcely an exegetico-dogmatic question of any importance occurs in the Pauline Epistles to which Bosveld with his grammatico-historical method did not bring light. Yet at that time in Holland this method was in its first beginnings. For the Dutch theology, the year 1815 was so far a decisive one as that, in the place of a university regulation, according to which every theological teacher was obliged to lecture on dogmatics, a complete separation of the courses of study was introduced. This could not but redound to the advantage of exegetical theology. The most recent time likewise is fruitful in able works in this department. We note *Parcan's* "*Hermeneutica Codis Sacra*" (1846), *Kuenen's* "*Criticae et Hermeneuticae Librorum Novi Foederis Lineamenta*," and *Cobet's* writing "*De Arte Interpretandi*." Excellently does Kuenen, namely, say in the work referred to: "*intelligere scriptorem is dicendus est, qui idem quod ille dum scribebat cogitavit legens cogitat.*" In the matter of Textual Criticism Mill and Wetstein had already done excellent work. In the path thus beaten followed Doedes and Heringa, while Scholten especially, with his free and sharp conjectural criticism, particularly with reference to the Gospel of John, aroused much opposition. With regard to exegesis itself, that of the Old Testament received already in the Netherlands more attention than that of the New; yet until 1815 the freer investigation of this part of Scripture [the O.T.] seems to have made very little progress in the Netherlands. Since that time also more impartial inquiries have come into vogue. *Jac. Amersvoordt*,

Separation
of the
courses in
the univer-
sities.

Parcan,
Kuenen,
and Cobet.

Amers-
voordt.

van der Palm, *Hamaker*, *Kuenen*, *Hoekstra*, are here to be mentioned with distinction; yet *Hamaker* through his free view of prophecy, as in general through his academical activity, has incurred the reproach of forming rationalists. In New Testament exegesis, theology, and criticism, *Heringa*, *van Hengel*, *Oosterzee*, *Niermeyer*, and *Scholten* are conspicuous. For *Heringa*, exegesis, it is true, was only a means for dogmatics, as is attested by his "Opera Exegetica et Hermeneutica," and still more his academic lectures,¹ "Animadversiones de locis Novi Testamenti, quorum praecepius est usus in probandis doctrinae Christianae capitibus." Perhaps the most important Netherlandian exegete in recent times is *W. Alb. van Hengel*, teacher in the high schools at Franeker, at Amsterdam, and at Leyden. His method of interpretation is the grammatico-objective, and his prudence has advanced with his years. His "Annotatio in loca nonnulla," compared with his "Commentarius perpetuus in Epistolam ad Philipianos," and especially with his "Commentarius in Epistolam ad Romanos," furnish abundant proof of this improvement. His investigations in biblical theology on the distinction between *σῶμα* and *σάρξ*, between *μετάνοια* and *ἐπιστροφή* prove him a master in this field also. By as much as verbal explanation is with him the principal thing, is the service which *van Hengel*, precisely through this verbal explanation, has rendered to the dogmatic understanding of the Epistle to the Romans in particular, a substantial service. *Niermeyer* has devoted himself principally to those parts of the New Testament that, after the inquiries of the school of Baur, seemed to be in need of a new examination. Especially are his investigations on the Apocalypse a thorough performance. Much would still have been to be hoped for from him had not death called him away (1855). *Van Oosterzee*, Professor at Utrecht, like *Hengstenberg*, sought in his "Christology of the Old Testament," to prove that all the passages cited in the New Testament as Messianic, even Isa. vii. 14, are really Messianic, even in the minds of the

Palm,
Hamaker,
Kuenen,
Hoekstra.

Heringa.

Hengel.

Niermeyer.

Oosterzee.

¹ "Dictate," dictated lectures. — TR.

authors themselves; in which he is governed by the presupposition that the Hermeneutics of the New Testament writers is in complete accord with the fundamental principles of the grammatico-historical interpretation. This he has set forth, indeed, in popular articles. "We must confess," says the author of the "Pragmatic History of Theology in the Netherlands," "that on a stand-point like that of Van Oosterzee all discussion loses its worth." Yet his "Theology of the New Testament," e.g. is less biased than might, according to what has been said, have been expected, and if he maintains the genuineness of the Pastoral Epistles, he at least has behind him all the voices of the church, with the single exception of the heretic Marcion, up to Schleiermacher and Baur. As an opponent of Oosterzee, and as head of the liberalistic theology in Holland, *J. H. Scholten*, born in 1811, since 1843 Professor at Leyden, is to be especially mentioned. Besides his principal dogmatic work, "*De Leer der Hervormde Kerk in hare Grondbeginselen*," etc., and his work on "*The Freedom of the Will*," we may here mention as characteristic, his work on "*The Gospel according to John*," his "*Study on the Apostle John in Asia Minor*," and his writing directed against Tischendorf, "*The Most Ancient Witnesses concerning the Writings of the New Testament*." Scholten has, of course, the solid majority of the conservative theologians, as Da Costa, Doedes, Oosterzee, and others, against him. We mention, finally, *Alb. Réville*, pastor of the Wallonian church at Rotterdam, who has furnished to the Review of Colani, besides other important critical articles: "*Jean le Prophète et Jean l'Évangéliste*," and "*Néron l'Antichrist*." From this poor enumeration it will have been seen that biblical studies have been pushed forward in Holland with zeal and thoroughness, that the influence of German theology upon the Dutch is a very important one; but that notwithstanding this, the latter has maintained an independent position; that the opposition between the conservative theology and the theology of progress is very outspoken, yet so that the former is to be conceived of not as the result

Scholten.

Réville.

Concluding
remarks.

of a politico-ecclesiastical restoration, but rather as a result of the inflexible character of the Dutch Reformed Church; the liberal theology, on the other hand, as a reaction against the old dogmatism and traditionalism. Utrecht is distinguished as the seat of the conservative theology, Leyden as the seat of the advanced theology. Cf. *Christ. Sepp*, "Johannes Stinstra en zijn tijd," Amsterdam, 1865. *Idem*, "Proeve eener pragmatistische geschiedenis der Theologie in Nederland, von 1787 tot 1858," Amsterdam, 1863.¹

Conclusions from the History of Exegesis for the Nature and the Principles of Scripture Interpretation.

a) Review of the various Exegetical Methods.

35. The Exegetical Methods Compared.

Various as the methods of interpretation have been, great as have been the distortions and the errors of exegesis; yet nearly

¹ Is it true or is it not that in recent times England and America can boast of no names worthy to be put alongside of those that have been mentioned as figuring prominently in the history of Scripture interpretation? If we have an eye simply to the influence that Scripture interpreters in these countries have exercised, we may say with confidence that a score might easily be here mentioned; but if we consider them from the point of view of real merit, we will not be inclined to chide our author for passing them by without mention. If we will look at the matter calmly we shall see, that in the department of biblical exegesis, English-speaking people in the present century are, indeed, strangely deficient. We shall see that the few men that have stood highest in biblical exegesis have been men that derived not their inspiration simply, but also their material, so directly and to so large an extent from the Germans, that the Germans cannot but regard them as mere satellites of themselves. Without going much farther into the past than our own generation, let us call to mind the names that stand pre-eminent in exegesis in England and in this country, and we shall see that so far as they are not simply reproducers of the exegesis of the ancient and the mediæval church (as Wordsworth, Pusey, and others), their indebtedness to the Germans (usually most ingenuously acknowledged) is to be traced page by page. This statement is not to be understood as an imputation of a blind and unreasoning following of authorities on the part of the honored men whose names are to be mentioned. They have done, indeed, a most important service to the cause of biblical study; most of them have done more or less work in some sense original;

f. Allegorical
interpretation.

all have proceeded from a more or less right feeling. In order to derive from the history of exegesis the true method, it is requisite that we always recognize the true in error, and then ascertain where truth and error separate. The *Allegorical* interpretation, the oldest of all, presupposes that the Scriptures contain the truth; but since between the spirit of the Scriptures and that of the interpreter a considerable difference exists, the allegorist seeks to remove this difference by regarding what opposes him in Scripture as mere form, as external *σῶμα*, and searches behind this for the deeper sense, which must be identical with that of the interpreter. The element of truth in this method is, that the Scriptures have a sense and spirit which does not always lie upon the surface, but must be sought for. But the error is the presupposition that this sense and spirit must be in accord with that of the interpreter and his time. The allegorical interpretation rests also upon a dualistic separation of the verbal sense and the deeper sense, instead of conceiving both in their unity. The allegorical interpretation is, in one word, the product of an unconditional respect for Scripture and a deficiency in historical appreciation. The interpretation according to the *fourfold sense of Scripture*, which prevailed throughout the Middle Ages, aims to correct the allegorical interpretation by vindicating to the verbal sense (the *littera*) a right of its own, but otherwise it agrees with the first entirely, only that it is still worse, in that it holds not to

but that they have been dependent for their high attainments on the Germans none would be more ready to admit than themselves. Of such men we may mention, in England, *Ellicott*, *Lightfoot*, *Alford*, *Stanley*, and *Davidson*; in America, *Stuart*, *Alexander*, and *Hackett*. There are, of course, scores of others that would deserve to be mentioned in an extended notice of English and American exegesis. We could find in English and American exegesis worthy representatives of all the various methods of interpretation. Nay, we could show that at the present time all the various methods exist side by side. Where, even in the Middle Ages, can be found, for instance, a more nonsensical piece of allegorizing than that presented to the learned in England and America by Dr. *Kay* in his recent Commentary on Isaiah (in the Bible Commentary)? It is a sad reflection on the public opinion in these countries, that such a work should meet with acceptance. — TR.

one only, but to various deeper senses, and still less than the simple allegorical does it know how to conceive of these senses in their organic unity with the verbal sense. If in the allegorical method, as the old Alexandrines practised it, wide scope was given to arbitrariness, in the application of the method of the four-fold sense this was incomparably more the case. The *Dogmatic* interpretation, as it prevailed especially in the Protestant Church at the time of the domination of Orthodoxy, proceeded from the true view that Scripture will teach truth, and indeed divine truth. To seek and to find this it regarded as its work. But it erred not only in manifoldly misjudging and disregarding the ways and means through which alone the truth is to be arrived at, but chiefly in starting from definite dogmatic presuppositions, in interpreting according to these, and in settling beforehand the result which must or must not be arrived at. The principal dogmatic presupposition was the mechanical inspiration of Scripture, and as a result of this its infallibility in even the minutest and most external matters, as also the view that the whole Bible is an organic Codex of Revelation. What now, did not accord with this presupposition must be exegetically pressed until it said nothing else than what was presupposed. With this was joined another perverted striving, viz. to make Scripture minister to the polemics of the ecclesiastical confession. Accordingly nothing must be found in Scripture which could favor the view of an opponent, and where such was really lighted upon it must be manipulated with exegetical artifices; while all passages that seemed to support the opinions of the party itself were dugged out, and the whole of Scripture was regarded as an arsenal for the combating of opponents. This use of Scripture exercised a ruinous influence on exegesis, not only by pressing this into the strait-jacket of ecclesiastical Orthodoxy, but also by causing the Scriptures to be regarded as an atomistic collection of dicta probantia. The *Pietistic* interpretation, therefore, opposed itself to the Orthodox with justice so far as it proceeded from the correct view, that the Scriptures are designed not so much

The Dogmatic interpretation.

The Pietistic interpretation.

for the instruction of the understanding as for the awakening of the heart and the sanctification of the life. It was perfectly right also in placing the Scriptures above ecclesiastical symbols, and in not holding *à priori*, that the sense of Scripture could not, and must not, contradict these. But a degrading and a flattening of exegesis was the consequence of the fact that Pietism, misjudging, not less than Orthodoxy, the historical character of the biblical writings, neglected, nay, in part despised, the grammatical, historical, and logical helps through which the genuine sense of Scripture must be found. Pietism overwhelmed the Bible with edificatory reflections and practical applications, and thus confounded Scripture explanation with Scripture application. It threw itself also with avidity not unfrequently upon such writings as the Song of Solomon, the "spiritual" interpretation of which furnished endless material for amatory intercourse¹ with the Saviour. The Rationalistic explanation stood in a certain connection with the Pietistic, in as far as it also was opposed to the dogmatic and regarded moral amelioration as the aim of Scripture. The Rationalistic explanation proceeded from the correct view that, above all, the Scriptures must be conceived of and interpreted historically. This historical interpretation could take either of two roads; it could either, in opposition to the fetters which hitherto the church had laid upon human thought, cast aside the opposing thoughts and conceptions as merely local and temporal, as Judaizing opinions, in place of which the flattest human understanding was then frequently taken as the norm; or it could proceed from the presupposition that the Bible proper means to teach nothing else than the "religion of reason," and accordingly make the sense of Scripture accord as nearly as possible with "reason." In this was overlooked the fact that "reason" is nothing finished and unchangeable, but varies according to the age, popular spirit, and individuality; varies according to the relation of the human heart to God. Precisely for the profoundest and most Christian thoughts, for the

The Rationalistic interpretation.

¹ "Liebes-ändeleien," not easy to render; but the meaning is clear.—Tr.

thoughts that have renewed the world, and that have power at all times to renew the human heart, the Rationalistic "reason" had no appreciation. The *Grammatico-historical* interpretation is not, as is so often maintained, identical with the Rationalistic. This stands unconditionally on the correct presupposition that the Bible, as well in its totality as in its parts, is a historical product; and, however divine it may be according to its final origin and essential contents, was written by men in human languages and under human relations; and that, therefore, it is to be interpreted with similar helps and according to the same principles as other books of antiquity. These interpreters thus bestow upon the study of the language, as the organ of the thoughts of the author, the same industry as upon the language of the so-called profane authors, convinced that this is the only correct and possible way of ascertaining the genuine sense of the sacred author. They study the person of the author and his time, the relation in which he stood to the agitations of his time, the occasion and the object of his writing. If now in all this the grammatico-historical interpreters held unconditionally the right position, it is not to be ignored that the grammatico-historical inquiries and the historico-critical researches may be made so much the chief thing that what is properly the chief thing, the sense and spirit of the author, may be altogether neglected. It is not to be denied that the purely objective position of the interpreter with reference to his author could easily degenerate into indifference to what he says, and this into inability to understand. The *Critical* interpretation is very closely akin to the historical. Without Criticism no historical, and hence also no exegetical, inquiry is possible. Besides Textual Criticism, Historical Criticism is also necessary. The critical treatment of Scripture often comes now into conflict with certain traditional opinions which it is its business to test; nay, it is itself in great part nothing else than the testing of traditional opinions with reference to the author, the age, and the relations under which the writing under consideration arose. From this cause it has

The Gram-
matico-his-
terical in-
terpretation

The Critical
interpreta-
tion.

come into dispute with believers in tradition. Criticism and Revelation have been set up as antagonists, unjustly; not Revelation and Criticism, but *Tradition* and Criticism, are antagonistic. Now it is certainly not to be denied that in this province, where combination and conjecture have to do their best, a wide field is opened for arbitrariness and fancifulness. Not as if critical conjecture or hypothesis were in itself inadmissible; there may be even here a Copernicus, a Kepler, or a Newton! But every hypothesis, even the most brilliant, must be verified, i.e. all essential phenomena must be found explicable by it, or at least must not contradict it. Yet only the smallest number of hypotheses are so fortunate, and if nevertheless, despite contradictory phenomena, a hypothesis is to be held fast at all hazards; if one has eyes only for what favors his hypothesis, no eyes for what is unfavorable; criticism, together with the exegesis that rests upon it, has got upon a wrong road. If then, moreover, such a conjecture has been given out as a dogma, an unverified result as the watchword of a party, all scientific discussion is at an end. Diametrically opposed to the critical treatment of Scripture stands the *Apologetic*. In the face of an arbitrary and tendential¹ hypercriticism it is in the right, when it in turn subjects this hypercriticism to criticism, and vindicates the grounds that may be adduced in favor of the traditional view. But so far as this Apologetical treatment of Scripture seeks to sustain the traditional view at all hazards, even at the sacrifice of subjective truth and scientific conscientiousness, it also becomes tendential, and has no right to complain of the tendential criticism. If it be tendential to be willing to see only what makes *against* the usual view, it is no less tendential to be willing to see and to give due weight to that only which is favorable thereto. Thus, viz. it is only at the sacrifice of scientific accuracy that men have sought to support by all the artifices of an ingenious Bible interpretation the complete accord of the sense in which the New Testament writers employ certain Old Testament

The
Apologetic
interpretation.

¹ See Translator's Preface. — Tr.

passages with the original sense of these passages, or the harmony of the Mosaic cosmogony and conception of the world with the results of geology and astronomy; or that they explain away historical contradictions, which are manifest to every unprejudiced mind. If then, moreover, such a hyper-conservative treatment of Scripture is put forth as the only "believing" one; yet by this means scientific and honorable discussion is just as much cut off as by a critical conjecture set forth under the name of liberality. We conclude with the *Spiritualistic (Pneumatic)* interpretation. This rests upon the true presupposition, that the divine spirit of Scripture can be understood only by means of the divine spirit. In fact, Scripture must be read and explained in *the* spirit in which it was written, since only the related can understand the related. But it is a great misapprehension and an arrant misuse of the Pneumatic interpretation, if one, in proud contempt of the human means which condition a thorough and assured understanding, supposes that he has in his "devoutness"¹ the only true and infallible key to knowledge, and from this his stand-point, as from a tripod, *maintains* instead of *investigating*. So also it is a great perversion of the Spiritualistic interpretation if — not content with the simple and assured sense of the author — one underlays him with one's own profound system and makes him utter mysteries which only an artificial explanation can interpret into him. As an opposition to the flat intelligence of the Rationalistic exegesis this Spiritualistic interpretation has its historical authorization; it has also its exegetical authorization in as far as the words of Christ and his apostles contain in fact mysteries which only the initiated can understand (1 Cor. ii. 6 ff.). But as far as the interpreter goes to work not so much to ascertain what the *author* says and means as what he *himself* desires that he may say and mean; so far as he from private aversion to the clear and the simple, catches at mysteries, the spiritualistic interpretation is on a dangerous by-path. To this hankering after the mysterious, a province

The Spiritualistic interpretation.

¹ "Gläubigkeit."

The
Chiliasitic
tendency.

in which the phantasy of the interpreter has the freest play, the Chiliastic tendency, and especially the aversion to the historical interpretation of the Apocalypse, are also in great part to be ascribed. Over against such an exposition (or rather imposition) the rule of the Reformers is to be remembered, that the obscure in Scripture is to be explained by the clear, and not conversely.

β) *The Right Exegetical Stand-point.*

37. The true View of Scripture.

The Bible as
a divine
book.

As a human
book.

In recent times everything in exegesis and Scripture study seems to move around the question, whether the *Bible* is to be regarded and treated *as a divine or as a human writing*. But the way in which the question is put is thoroughly wrong, since even he that regards the Scriptures as a *divine* book, cannot deny that they were written by human authors, however much they may have been inspired, in human language and under human and temporal relations; that, for example, the language of the New Testament writings is impure, that many of their presuppositions and conceptions are current Jewish opinions, and not eternal truths; as also that the text of the Bible has come down to us through countless and varying copies, and hence partially in an uncertain and corrupted form. On the other hand, he who regards the Bible as a *human* book, will acknowledge that it contains divine thoughts and eternal truths, and that it has exerted an influence on humanity such as no other book has exerted. Accordingly, the former, unless he shuts himself up in narrow obstinacy against the most notorious facts, will see that the understanding of the Scriptures cannot be reached without linguistic and historical help. The latter, in turn, cannot but regard exegesis as then first complete, when his critical, grammatical, and historical investigations have revealed to him the *sense* and the *thoughts* of the sacred author; since otherwise he would have no understanding at all for these things. Not thus, therefore, is the principal question to be put, whether the Bible is a divine or a human book, but

whether the interpreter is to go to his work *with or without* The correct statement of the question. *presuppositions.* The *old exegetes* answered this question emphatically in the first sense. See, e.g. in M. Flacius, *Clavis Scripturae Sacrae*. But confessional writings also, as the *Confessio Helvetica Posterior* (c. 2), set forth the principle that interpretation must agree with the *regula fidei*. If by the *regula fidei* is understood the *Apostolicum* or some other ecclesiastical symbol, the rule is thoroughly objectionable; since, to say nothing of the utter insufficiency of this norm, it is altogether impracticable to explain the original by the derivative. But, if by the *regula fidei* is understood certain general principles which are themselves drawn from Scripture, this comes nearer to the truth, but everything depends on whether these principles have been really drawn from Scripture and according to correct exegetical insight. The setting up of these principles as *regula fidei et norma interpretandi* presupposes already, therefore, a thorough exegesis. More correctly will these principles be so conceived of, that that is to be set up as the *norma interpretandi* which differentiates the biblical religion from other religions, in which, however, a historical study of religions is presupposed. The regula fidei. The presupposition is here, above all, the *unity of Scripture*. Is the unity of Scripture to be presupposed? The question reduces itself therefore, to this, Whether the exegete must presuppose the unity of Scripture? Not so, at all events, that on account of the unity he should under-estimate the diversities, and seek to bring out, e.g. the doctrine of justification through faith even in the Synoptic Gospels, which can be no otherwise accomplished than through the most forced exegesis. The doctrinal unity of the Scriptures can rather be only the abstraction from rightly apprehended distinctions; therefore not so much the presupposition as the goal of exegesis. This holds, however, only of scientifically determined unity; but from this the *general impression* is to be distinguished, which the unlearned The general impression. as well as the learned reader of the Scriptures receives, that everything in the Bible is directed to the *glory of God*, and not to the *glory of man*, and that man is throughout assumed to

be a dependent, sinful being, in need of salvation. This is so much the case that he who sees men, and first of all himself, only in the great and the beautiful, is to such an extent destitute of an understanding for the Scriptures, that the Scriptures must present themselves to him rather as foolishness; while to him alone is the sense of the Bible disclosed, who through a living experience and a self-knowledge has arrived at the consciousness of his own sinfulness and need of salvation, and of that of the whole human race. Thus, not a doctrinal pre-

Need of inner affinity.

supposition, but an *inner affinity on the part of the interpreter with the general spirit of Scripture*, is indispensable to the understanding of Scripture. Usually, however, this condition is found insufficient and another condition set up, viz. *unconditional belief in the authority and inspiration of Scripture* must be the key to the right understanding. With regard to

Views of inspiration.

inspiration we refer to what has been said above (§ 8 ff.). Here we enter only upon the question, Whether this unconditional reverence, to which the Bible is a sacred thing not to be touched, or spiritual kinship and love, conditions the right understanding? Now it is, of course, true that respect for the Bible, and especially for the word of God contained in the Bible, is the attitude towards Scripture with which we, as a rule, begin; but nobody would maintain that this respect, so long as it remains mere respect and does not advance to positive interest and to believing desire for knowledge, is a means to the understanding of Scripture. To be convinced that the

Orthodox exegetes of the 17th century and the Reformers.

contrary is the case one has only to appeal to the Orthodox exegetes of the seventeenth century, and to ask, whether they understood and interpreted Scripture better than the Reformers? Still less advantageous to interpretation than this general respect is the respect which has advanced to the dogmatic belief in inspiration, and which has thus become petrified. The belief in inspiration is originally nothing else than the dogmatic reflection on the *impression* which Scripture makes upon the reader. This impression is still very freshly and vividly described by Calvin (Instit. I. 8, 1), although he had elsewhere

already (ibid. 7, 4 at beginning) laid down the premises of the unconditional belief in inspiration. If this unconditional belief in inspiration is, as a result, of doubtful value for interpretation, as a *προλήψις* or presupposition it can only be deleterious. The belief in inspiration presents itself at the present day, it is true, for the most part in a more moderate form; human elements are admitted in Scripture; textual criticism and the grammatico-historical interpretation are not despised. But then, it is not easy to see what is to remain of the doctrine of inspiration; for, if the view is once abandoned that the Holy Spirit is the auctor primarius of Scripture, and that the human authors are only his amanuenses, it matters very little whether the limits of the activity of the human understanding and will — this activity having been once admitted — be fixed somewhat wider or somewhat narrower, and all that is left of the dogma of inspiration is the view that the biblical authors wrote *under the influence* of the Holy Spirit. But this view is of very trifling consequence for Scripture interpretation, and it avoids with difficulty the dualistic fundamental conception which hinders rather than furthers sound exegesis. This principle is, in general, to be adhered to: that *every presupposition which would in any way anticipate the exegetical result is inadmissible*. Vagueness of the modern view of inspiration. The principle to be adhered to.

The opposite requirement is, that Scripture interpretation be *entirely free from presupposition*. The meaning of this requirement is, that the sense of the Bible in its totality and in its single parts is to be conceived of as purely historical fact, to be ascertained in a purely historical way. The interpreter, accordingly, is to bring no opinion of his own to his work, but is to regard the writing to be interpreted, in its totality and in its parts, as an unknown *x*. So also, he is to hold himself altogether indifferent to the sense of Scripture — whether this is true or not is no concern of his. It is perfectly true, certainly, that the interpreter *is to regard the sense of his author as a historical fact, to be ascertained in a historical way*. It is perfectly true that *he is not to allow his subjective* Freedom from presupposition Elements of truth in the view.

opinion to influence the material of exegetical inquiry. But whether such an attitude of the interpreter to his object as in general is abstracted from all presuppositions, and maintains a state of perfect indifference towards the object, is *possible*, and whether it is the *right* attitude, this requires investigation. Is it, indeed, possible for the interpreter of Homer to avoid all presupposition with reference to the poet and his work, to leave even all subjective interest behind, to remain indifferent to the beauties of the Illiad and the Odyssey? Is it possible for the interpreter of Plato to come to his author without any presupposition and without any interest? Or, if it were even possible, could it be maintained as the right way? Is such an indifferent attitude of the interpreter towards his author really conducive to the understanding of the author? Certainly not! How much less can this be the case with writings that address themselves far less to the empirical man, and which are directed towards that in man which men themselves usually rather hide from! When freedom from presupposition is spoken of as a requisite of the interpreter, his deportment in his work and with reference to the material results to be attained, and his attitude towards the author and towards his writing in general, are usually confounded. With reference to the former, the interpreter must be free from prepossession, i.e. he must not allow his subjective opinions and desires to influence in the least his investigations, nor to determine the result. But with regard to the latter, a general interest in his author, and sympathy with him, are not only admissible, but an indispensable condition for the understanding of his thoughts. So also, it cannot be maintained — as might seem to be the case — that this interest for the author and that *freedom from prepossession* in reference to the immediate result of the exegetical investigation are incompatible, that these requirements contradict each other; since if only this interest is *pure*, it will hear nothing else than the *author*, know nothing else than what *he* says and means to say. If only the interpreter has a right *love* for his author founded on esteem; this esteem and love impose

Is it possible?

Is it right?

Confusion of views.

Compatibility of the two requirements.

upon him that *self-denial* which abstracts him from his own thinking, and guards against attributing the same to the author; as if the author were to be regarded as a teacher of the truth only under the condition that he says what it is desired that he should say, and nothing else. We may sum up what has been said in this proposition: *For the understanding of Scripture a loving interest is necessary, which manifests itself in willingness to hear the author himself, and nothing but the author.* Principle reached.

38. Principles of Interpretation.

A tolerably old and much discussed question is: *Whether the Scriptures are to be interpreted according to the same principles as any other book?* Question stated. After the church had universally proceeded from the opposite view, it was Ernesti principally (see above, § 28), who thoroughly proved that the means for the understanding of Scripture can be no other than those that are applied in the interpretation of any other book of antiquity. In opposition to this, then, the spiritualistic interpretation pre-eminently has again treated Scripture in an altogether exceptional manner, and even to the present day Ernesti's proposition seems to the "Bible Christians,"¹ a profane assertion. The question can be fundamentally answered only in concreto.

a) *The Scriptures are to be explained as any other writing of antiquity*, since, a) as in every other ancient writing the Text is to be determined on the ground of critical evidence and probable conjecture, which are grounded on a knowledge of the history of the Text. The general principle.
 β) As in all other writings we are to make the *grammatical* sense our starting-point; since language is common property, of which every writer avails himself according to his individuality, so here as there, the general grammatical rules are to be applied. Grammar.
 γ) As in all other writings the meaning of the words must be determined according to the linguistic usage, and these two things form most important helps to the ascertainment of the verbal sense. Linguistic usage.
 δ) As in all other writings the connection is chiefly

¹ Bibelgläubigen.

Conjunctions.	conditioned by the <i>conjunctions</i> , and these express, as do also the prepositions, the same relations as in other Greek authors.
Accidents of the verbs.	ε) The same is to be said with reference to the cases, the moods, and the tenses ; these are, as a rule, applied by the New Testament authors not otherwise than by the so-called profane writers. ζ) Even certain Greek idioms, as the employment of the Aorist Indicative in conditional protases and apodoses, where in German the Pluperfect Conjunctive [English Pluperf. Subj.] is placed ; the use of the Present Indicative in incidental propositions, when the principal verb stands in a historical tense ; the use of attraction, etc., are, as a rule, the same in the New Testament authors as in the other Greek authors, and are to be explained in precisely the same way. η) As in all other authors, the sense of a passage, outside of the verbal sense, is conditioned by the connection and the <i>intention of the discourse</i> , and these are to be ascertained in the New Testament according to no other rules than in other writings.
Idioms.	θ) The <i>dialectic</i> and <i>rhetorical</i> forms are in general the same in the New Testament as in other authors, and are to be explained in the same way. ι) As with all other authors, the knowledge of the time, of the country, and of the people of the author, and of the occasion of the preparation of his writing, is an important qualification for the understanding of the same.
Intention of the discourse.	κ) Finally, the <i>composition</i> and the <i>object</i> of a biblical writing is to be ascertained according to no other methods than those employed in the case of other writings. The comparison of Scripture with other ancient literature is far from being an impious and profane treatment of Scripture ; it is rather a proof that one has a high appreciation for the author and his work, and <i>takes pains</i> with the latter.
Dialectic and rhetorical forms.	λ) But in fact, the interpretation of the New Testament writings requires, <i>on account of its special nature</i> , besides these common principles, a special attention and treatment : 1. On account of the <i>language</i> ; since, α) even in <i>Textual Criticism</i> the usual procedure undergoes a modification, in as far as the emendation of the usual Text must be made not so much
Collateral information.	
Composition and object.	
Special application.	
Language.	
Textual criticism.	

according to the correct Greek as according to the later Hebraistically-colored Greek of the Hellenistic authors. β) Just **Hebraisms**, this later and Orientally-colored Greek requires special attention, in as far as the deviations of the same from the pure Greek, as also the consideration as well of that which is taken from the Hebraistic or Aramaic idiom as that which belongs to the specifically Christian element, is necessary. γ) Since, **General and special usage**, further, from a linguistic point of view, as well with regard to the general usage as with regard to the special linguistic usage, important variations occur, these also are not to be neglected.

δ) Although the sacred authors have thought more or less logically, **Logic**, and there is only one logic; yet one is not to presuppose in them the accuracy and sharpness in their deductions and conclusions, which *we* demand of an accurate author; since even with the Apostle Paul and with the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, who wrote most dialectically of all, inferences and conclusions are to be found, which *we* would not call logically correct.

ϵ) Besides these, not altogether infrequent, **Conception of the world**, logical inaccuracies, the — as it were unconscious — *conception of the world* of the biblical authors exercises an influence upon their thinking; by reason of which their forms of thought are not always to be measured by ours. So, e.g. their ideas of "heaven," "world," "spirit," etc., their conceptions of the influence of God upon the world, and of the relation between God and the world, are more realistic and sensuous than ours, and we must guard against importing into their expressions our more abstract ideas. This borders already on what belongs to their religion.

2. The other ground, on which biblical exegesis **Religion**, has to be distinguished from that of the other ancient authors, lies in the biblical and, more exactly, New Testament *religion*.

α) Belief in one *God*, exalted above the visible world, holy, exercising absolute dominion over the created world, and doing this in righteousness and wisdom, pervades the biblical authors to such an extent, and so differences them from all so-called profane authors, that the humanistic interpreter finds himself here placed upon quite another stand-point, and from this he **must**

God, the
universal
agent.

understand his author. β) Since God, according to the Scriptures, is the absolute subject, by whom, and for whose sake everything happens, little or nothing is said of the human or natural mediate causes of events, but so much the more of their absolute and personal ground, and all things are derived *immediately* from him ; therefore, the *miracles*, which from the biblical stand-point are properly no miracles, because as signs and acts of God they are in truth self-evident, and only in relation to men, who are astonished at them as at God's judging and saving acts, are they wonderful events. This peculiarity requires quite especially a capacity on the part of the interpreter to transpose himself into this way of thinking. γ)

Jewish ex-
clusiveness.

Since this faith in God has been the peculiarity of a single people from ancient times, and as *national* faith or *believing* nationality or theocracy formed the ground of a profound antagonism towards other people, the biblical interpreter must know how to throw himself into this conception. Now national particularism is to a certain degree a presupposition with reference to *all* the peoples of antiquity, but the Israelitish-Christian particularism differs essentially from that of the Greeks and Romans ; for while the one discriminates between Greek and Barbarian, the other between Civis Romanus and other nations, as if the former alone had rights ; the biblical, and so the New Testament, authors discriminate between *Israel*, as the people of God, and the *heathen* estranged from God and living in their own wisdom and according to their own choice (see on the one hand, Rom. iii. 1, 2 ; ix. 1-5 ; xi. 21 ; on the other, Rom. i. 18-22 ; Eph. ii. 12). Not culture and civilization, but the relation to God forms here the ground of the difference.

Different
from that of
the Greeks
and Romans.

Prophecy.

A special peculiarity of the Bible is *prophecy* as a conception of history, supported by the idea of the people and the kingdom of God, a relation of the present to the future, grounded in the divine pragmatism ; as a result of which a constant turning to the future as a solution of the enigmas of the present, and a redemption from the theocratic exigencies. In the New Testament this prophetic hope undergoes a modification in as

N. T. modi-
fication.

far as the Promised One has come, and the potentially manifested salvation henceforth only goes to meet its real and final fulfilment, — a fulfilment to be hoped for only by means of hard conflicts and calamities. This *expectation*, partly of coming calamities, partly of the final decision and redemption, is a fundamental characteristic of the New Testament authors (Revelation; Matt. xxiv. 25; Luke xii. 33–53; xxi.; 1 Thess. v. 1–11; 1 Cor. xv. 51 f.; Rom. xiii. 12; James v. 7, 8; 1 Pet. v. 7, 17; 1 John ii. 18; Heb. x. 37). With this turning to the ideal future the conception of the transitoriness and the nothingness of present and visible things stands in the closest connection. This evidently constitutes one of the greatest differences between the biblical conception of the world and of life, and that of the so-called profane authors; so much the more pressing is the demand that falls upon the biblical student, to understand this conception of the world, and not to import those human-political ideas into the Bible nor to interpret the Bible according to these. ε) Finally, what lends to all the New Testament writings their specific tendency and coloring is the still more or less fresh impression and the all-inspiring proclamation of *Jesus as the Messiah*, of his life and death. He is the central point of the New Testament conceptions. Not only his sacred words and his wonderful deeds, but his sacred personality, his humiliation even unto death and his exaltation to the heavenly life, constitute the determining principle of the consciousness of the Apostles and their disciples. In connection with this, then, stands also the idea, foreign to all worldly literature, of a holy and vicarious suffering and death. In this death also the universal biblical idea, that whosoever humbleth himself shall be exalted, finds its highest fulfilment. ζ) According to the New Testament authors are conscious of a living *nexus* between the heavenly and the earthly, between themselves and Christ, which is conditioned through the Holy Spirit and is a redemption from the present wicked world, a state of sonship to God, and of believing joyfulness, which rises above the temporal adversities and calamities (see especially Rom.

Jesus, the
Messiah.

A living
nexus.

viii. ; 1 John iii. 1-3 ; 1 Pet. i. 3-9). That objective central point of their thinking, and this subjective centre of gravity of their feeling, difference* the New Testament authors so much from all earlier and contemporaneous authors, that without full consciousness of this difference there can be no understanding, and consequently no ideal interpretation of the New Testament books.

Which claim is to have the priority?

c) How, now, is the demand, that the Scriptures be interpreted *as another book*, related to the demand, that they be explained under *recognition of their difference* from other books? Which claim is entitled to the priority? It will be remembered that Scripture interpretation is only a particular species of interpretation, and that the general principles of interpretation must take precedence of those that are a special modification or enriching of the same. If a question arises with reference to the *exegetical procedure*, to the common principles and rules the priority must be unconditionally yielded. Not as if the interpretation should be conducted first according to these general principles, and then according to the special considerations and principles; but the exegete is rather throughout to *proceed* from these general principles, to make use of the special considerations only when these latter make a modification of the former really necessary. Does a question arise with reference to the *end and aim* of Scripture interpretation, whether it be a purely philological or a theological one; special stress is to be laid upon the peculiarity of the biblical writings and the consequent peculiarity of the exegetical direction.

γ) *The Exegetical Statement.*

39. Method and Order of Procedure.

In general we must here refer to what has been said above (§ 7) on the exegetical impartation. The exegetical process in the case of a biblical book or section is essentially no other than in any other ancient book. a) It is not enough that every individual thing that is said be correct; neither is it enough that *every* correct thing be said, but what is correct

Importance of a right order.

must also be said in the right *order*, i.e. so that, as far as possible, one thing may lead to another, and this be conditioned by that. The hearer must be so introduced into the essential parts of the investigation, that thereby he may be led step by step to the object, and may seem to have found this at the hand of the interpreter himself. The object to be attained is the understanding of the thought of the author. The interpreter is, therefore, to begin with giving a brief *synopsis* of the contents of the passage to be explained, or if the passage in hand has been taken from the midst of a whole, he is to show the connection. If the passage to be explained is of considerable extent, then are the articulation and the grouping of the whole to be pointed out. Having now informed his hearers in this way, he may go on to the explanation of details. As, now, the first condition to this explanation is, that we have at hand as nearly as possible the ipsissima verba auctoris, the first thing in order will be, in case the Text varies, to determine upon the correct reading. The second thing in order must be the ascertainment of the grammatical or verbal sense, where in the first place the construction or the organism of the sentence — first of all the subject and predicate, then descending step by step, the subordinate parts of the sentence — comes up for discussion. More difficult expressions are to be explained according to linguistic usage and the connection. In the grammatical explanation the *logical* is naturally included. Archaeological, historical, and geographical matters are first to be explained after the verbal sense has been determined; whether the discussion is to be detailed or not depends on the difficulty and importance of the matter. Finally, on the basis of the verbal sense, of the logical and real explanation, — the thought of the author is to be so developed and illustrated, that the hearer may be put in a position, *to think what the author thought, and to think it as he thought it*. How rich and complete the exegetical material is to be, which the interpreter is to impart, depends upon the hearers or the readers for whom his explanation is designed. Almost never will he parade the whole

Synopsis.

Connection

Criticism of
the Text.Verbal
sense.Archaeol-
ogy, etc.Connection
of thought.How much
material is
to be em-
ployed?

apparatus of his own investigation, but will rather impart only what is *essential* to the securing of his aim. The method that begins with determining the sense, and then for the first time brings in the exegetical material, is to be unconditionally characterized as the *inventive* method, since in every case the result appears, as it were, to have been shot from a pistol, and the apparatus afterwards adduced, to be a superfluous ballast.

Character
of the au-
dience.

The learned

The exegete's business is not, to maintain, but *to discuss and to prove*. b) A principal consideration with the exegete must

Learners.

be the *nature of his audience*. If his explanation is designed for the *learned*, which will only be the case when the locus or section under consideration is difficult or disputed, or the explanations that have previously been given leave something essential still to be desired, the interpreter has much to presuppose as well-known and acknowledged; but he must be so much the more exhaustive and thorough where the matter is disputed and he is conscious of being able to furnish something new. But if his explanation be designed for *learners and students*, the better the condition of the knowledge of his hearers is known the more successfully will he explain. To this he must accommodate himself. In any case he cannot here presuppose so much; he must here aim at a certain completeness, and especially must he show through his methods how exegesis is to be conducted, bringing out occasionally a hermeneutical rule or calling attention to a hermeneutical fault that happens to come

Class exer-
cises.

before him. If there are *exercises* of young exegetes before teachers, it should be seen to that the most important exegetical materials be conscientiously used, that the exegetical judgment have been formed and be formed, that the one explaining select from the materials used or discovered for himself, and impart what is of importance. Exegetical talent is shown pre-eminently in this: that the judgment in individual matters is independent, and the whole explanation is thorough, clear, and transparent. c) Finally, the exegetical method is deter-

Object in
view.

mined through the *object* which one has in view. This may, naturally, be either purely exegetical or it may be critical, dog-

matical, or practical. If the object be purely exegetical, the case is met by simply what was said under *a*). Is the object a Critical.
 critical investigation, the normal exegetical process undergoes a modification only in as far as the explanation has to hold in view *that* chiefly, which may throw light upon the question concerning genuineness, authenticity, and the like; and hence, the principal attention is to be directed to the linguistic character, to the diction, to the historical marks, to the circle of thought, so far as this furnishes points of comparison. If, on Dogmatic.
 the other hand, the object be a dogmatic one, whether it be the ascertainment of the doctrinal idea of the given author or of part of the same; or the biblical proof and grounding of a doctrinal proposition, the passages under discussion are to be first explained individually according to the verbal sense, the connection and the intention, and then they are to be compared with each other. The chief attention is to be directed to the intention of the author. If, finally, the object be a practical Practical.
 one, all learned apparatus should, of course, be dispensed with. At the same time it will depend upon the education of the hearers, how much or how little general knowledge is to be presupposed in them, how much or how little capacity for thought is to be expected of them. But whatever may be the degree of culture in the hearers, the practical interpreter must always direct his attention to the religious contents and kernel, must have had an inner experience of the relation thereof to human life, and must know how to present it clearly and impressively to others. Whatever may be the nature of the public for which the explanation is designed, and whatever may be the object of the explanation, *the exegete can never dispense* Self-preparation.
with, at least, what is essential to previous investigation of his own, viz. textual criticism, verbal explanation, explanation of the subject-matter, and logical explanation, together with religious comprehension of the thought.

PART II.

THE SINGLE OPERATIONS OF THE SCRIPTURE INTERPRETER.

1. *The Criticism of the Text.*¹

I. General View.

Mode of
multiplica-
tion of MSS.

From the history of the New Testament literature, and especially from the history of the text we learn how, after the early loss of the autographs, the multiplication of manuscripts was at first performed without diplomatic accuracy, but later passed through purging hands, which, however, aimed in no way merely at the restoration of the original. Involuntary oversights and true or supposed emendations on linguistic, dogmatic, or ritualistic grounds, found place and have so increased with time, that at last the number of variations amounted to many thousands. These are, indeed, in part only orthographical or, in general, not such as greatly to affect the sense; but in part they are essential, and of great impor-

¹ The best helps for the textual criticism of the New Testament are: *Tischendorf*, Editio VIII Critica Major (with Prolegomena of the Ed. VII.). This work furnishes abundant materials; though Tischendorf's own opinions are not particularly valuable. In many instances he seems to follow almost blindly the readings of his darling Codex Sinaiticus; *Tregelles*, New Testament, — not so rich in materials as Tischendorf, but more trustworthy as a text; *Scrivener*, Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament (2d ed.); *Hammond*, Textual Criticism applied to the New Testament; *Gardiner*, in the Bibliotheca Sacra for 1875, Art. Textual Criticism, since published in book form, and as an Appendix to his Greek Harmony of the Gospels. — Tr.

tance to the sense. Had we only *one* manuscript which reached back nearly to the Apostolic or the post-Apostolic times, we should have simply to hold to this; but such does not exist. We know that the oldest manuscripts which we possess date from the fourth and fifth centuries. Accordingly, it would be important to have monuments of the text from earlier times. Such have been preserved in some old translations, as, e.g. in the Peschito, in the Egyptian translations, and in the ancient Itala.¹ But, from the nature of the case, translations are only mediate witnesses of the text of their time, to say nothing of the vitiating circumstance that translations themselves, as especially the Itala, have come down to us in corrupted texts. The citations of those Church Fathers, that are more ancient than our oldest manuscripts, seem to furnish a more certain attestation; but many of these citations are not verbally accurate; only the exegetes among them, especially Origen and Chrysostom, have cited verbally. But already in those ancient times the variations are not unimportant. At the same time the ancient manuscripts, as the Vatican, the Sinaïtic, the Alexandrine, the Cantabrigian, etc., are always of great weight, and where they agree among themselves, or where some principal codices are supported by still other testimonies, as by the Peschito, by the best Codd. of the Vulgate, or by Origen, the reading is to be regarded as assured.

No absolute norm.

Monuments of the Text.

Versions also corrupt

Most important mss.

2. Means of attaining to the Original Text.

This is by no means frequently the case, however, but often the preponderance of testimonies is not decisive. On the other hand, it is of great consequence, if a reading is authenticated through *testimonies of different kinds*, as e.g. by Alexandrine, Constantinopolitan, and Western, or if one or two impor-

Witnesses of different kinds.

¹ Compare on the Versions the excellent Articles in Smith's Dictionary of the Bible, on the Aethiopic, Arabic, Armenian, Egyptian, Gothic, and Syriac versions, by *Tregelles*; on the Latin versions by *Westcott*. See also the Prolegomena of Tischendorf and Tregelles to their editions of the Greek New Testament, and the works on Textual Criticism referred to above. References to all the valuable literature up to the time of publication, will be found in the Articles in Smith's Dictionary of the Bible referred to. — Tr.

Critical
conjecture.

Textual
Criticism a
progressive
science.

Involun-
tary corrup-
tions.

tant manuscripts are supported by one or more versions, or by quotations from the Fathers. Yet even thus the desired certainty is often not attained, since the distinction between an Alexandrine, Constantinopolitan, and Occidental text cannot be rigidly carried through, and since not seldom agreements stand against agreements. Therefore, in most cases, *critical conjecture* is indispensable; only this must be based upon knowledge of the history of the text, and especially of the causes of the rise of false readings. The emendation of the text must, in a certain measure, be the reverse of the rise of the traditional (corrupted) text, i.e. the criticism of the text must draw from the readings at hand — having regard to the influences which then contributed to the alteration of the text — a conclusion upon the probably *original* reading. Upon the *probably* original reading! since we are never to forget that we have to do here not with exact science, but in most cases only with conjectures or grounds of probability, and that the results of our efforts take in the whole scale of historical certainty even to the complete non liquet. The principles to be followed in this conjectural criticism are set forth in Prolegomena or Excursuses to all critical editions from Griesbach to Tischendorf, and, indeed, it is self-evident that the more, as well the apparatus as the insight into the principles improves, the more accurately will they be formulated. In the brief guide to textual criticism, which we here give, these principles cannot be dispensed with. The corruptions of the text are, *a) involuntary*, i.e. such as have arisen through aberration of the eye or imperfect hearing; here belong all kinds of errors of the pen, especially the permutations of *ei* and *ie*, of *ai* and *ie*, etc., that arose through Itacism;¹ also the oversights that have arisen through

¹ By Itacism is meant the corruption and assimilation of the vowel sounds which certainly began not very long after the beginning of the Christian era, and which resulted in the assimilation of *i, η, υ, ei, oi, vi*, as the continental *i*, and of *ε and αι* as the continental *e*. This system is seen in its full development in the ancient Syriac versions in the transference of proper names, etc., and is that now followed in Romic or Modern Greek. The late Dr. H. B. Hackett was of the opinion that this

the *Scriptio continua* and the *Homoioteleuton*, the errors that have arisen from palaeographic causes, e.g. the confounding of Θ and Ο, ΚC (*κυριος*) and KC (*καιρος*), etc. As examples of such involuntary variations we adduce only the following: . Of those that have arisen from Itacism, Matt. xi. 26 (*ἐταίροις* and *ἐτέροις*); Matt. xxvii. 60 (*καυῶ* and *κενῶ*); Rom. ii. 17 (*εἰ δέ* and *ἰδέ*); 2 Cor. iii. 1 (*εἰ μὴ* and *ἦ μὴ*); 1 Pet. ii. 3 (*χρηστός* and *Χριστός*). Of those that have arisen from *Homoioteleuton*, the repetition of the first member of Matt. x. 23; the omission or transposition of 1 Cor. xv. 26; the omission of *ἐν ἀκαταστασίαις* in 2 Cor. vi. 5. From palaeographic abbreviation, the confounding of *ὅς* and *θεός* 1 Tim. iii. 16, the confounding of *τῷ κυρίῳ δουλεύοντες* and *τ. καίρω δουλ.* in Rom. xii. 11, *et al.* Cf. for other examples, *Reuss*, "History of the New Testament Scriptures," § 364. In reference to these accidental corruptions scarcely any rules can be given, yet it is to be said that a *meaningless* reading must be regarded as a false reading, and as having arisen through oversight; that readings which yield indeed a sense, are yet to be regarded as exceptionable, if they are supported by one manuscript only, or by few testimonies, and these of subordinate authority. *b) Arbitrary alterations of the text.* First of all it is to be observed that in the first centuries there was for a long time not that importance attached to the exact reproduction of the text as later, that, e.g. there was no hesitation about writing first in the margin, and then incorporating into the text itself certain traditional additions, as John v. 4; vii. 53; viii. 11, Mark xvi. 9 ff.; as also glosses or liturgical formulae, or doxologies, the word *Ἀμήν*, and such like. Later, when the text came to be dealt with more accurately, the authority of the church had already become so great that such readings as were more favorable to the opinion and practice of the church were preferred and diffused, pronunciation represents more accurately than any other that followed by the sacred writers themselves; accordingly, he introduced it into his classes. So far as I can learn, however, this system has not met with the approval of scholars in general, and it is fraught with so many disadvantages that it cannot be recommended. — Tr.

Examples:

From Itacism.

From Homoioteleuton.

From abbreviation.

Meaningless reading false.

Arbitrary alterations.

Incorporation of marginal readings.

at the expense of those that seemed rather to favor an heretical view ; although it is not to be denied that the heretics on their side did the same. Very frequently, especially in the Gospels, differences are equalized in the interest of harmony, just as frequently inaccurate and free citations from the Old Testament (the LXX) are made more conformable to the language of the LXX. And not in material points alone, but also in formal matters, the so-called emendations were undertaken, and expressions that appeared to be bad Greek were replaced with more correct.

3. The Most Important Critical Helps.

This knowledge of the history of the text is, indeed, an indispensable condition of textual criticism ; but it must be combined with the *knowledge of the most important critical helps*, and of their *relative value*. On this subject the Prolegomena in Griesbach, Scholz, and Tischendorf, as also the so-called hand-books of Isagogics give information. The necessity for the consultation and knowledge of these helps rests upon the fact, that in general *no* literary-historical investigation is possible without knowledge and criticism of the sources. Again, it is not to be assumed, that a genuine reading has been entirely lost, and has not been preserved in some ancient witness or other. But it is necessary in the mass of manuscripts and other witnesses, to know the *most important*, for which we refer to the helps mentioned above, and especially to the Prolegomena to Tischendorf's seventh critical edition. In these Prolegomena attention is called to the importance of the Codd. Vaticanus (B), which however is defective from Heb. ix. 14 onwards ; of the Sinaiticus (α), the Alexandrinus (A), Ephraemi (C), very defective, Cantabrigensis (D), for the Pauline Epistles also the Cod. Claromont. (D Paris.) ; then also to the importance of the most ancient versions as the Peschito, the two Egyptian, the Vulgate, of which Codd. Amiat.¹ and Fuldens. are the oldest and most important ; and, finally, to the citations

¹ A good edition of the Cod. Amiatinus, edited by Tischendorf, has appeared. — Tr.

of Origen. But side by side with these most important critical attestations, there are others in no way to be neglected, and even the Minuscule [Cursive] manuscripts may be of value Cursives. for the support of a reading.¹ But, finally, it is indispensable to know *the nature and the relative critical worth* of the most important manuscripts, on which subject also the helps referred to contain what is necessary. We may only call attention here to the facts, that the Cod. Vaticanus, the most important of all,² is free from a multitude of additions which most of the later manuscripts contain, and that in a linguistic point of view it is characterized by a certain preference for the Perfect (instead of the Aorist); that the Cod. Sinaiticus as regards the omission of the later additions, as also in the majority of the readings, agrees with the Vat., but is disfigured by a host of errors of the pen. The Cod. Cantabrigiensis, important for the Gospels and the Acts, and containing a very ancient and as yet unedited text, contains here and there peculiar additions, among which that to Luke vi. 4 is the most noteworthy. Codd. Vat. and Sinait. have an important support in the fact that they very frequently agree with the citations of Origen. From these considerations we deduce the following critical rules: Critical rules. 1. *No critical conjecture is admissible, that is not supported by at least one ancient attestation.* 2. *The most ancient readings, even if accredited by few attestations, deserve, as a rule, the preference over later readings, even though more strongly accredited.* 3. *The more these readings are supported by attestations of a different kind (as Codices, Versions, and Fathers), or by testimonies of different origin (as, e.g. Oriental and Occidental), the more assured they are.*

¹ The MSS. noticed above \aleph ABCD, and many others are written in large characters like capitals, and are called Uncials (*uncia*, an inch). This method of writing was gradually superseded by the Cursive, corresponding with the characters used in printed Greek texts. These Cursive MSS. though very late, are often valuable from the fact that they may have been copied accurately from a very ancient Uncial, and may, therefore, represent an earlier text than some of the later Uncials themselves. — TR.

² This view was strongly contested by Tischendorf, who regarded the Cod. Sinaiticus as the most important of all. — TR.

4. The Critical Procedure.

The *critical procedure* must, accordingly, consist partly in consultation and comparison of the attestations, partly in conjecture to be arrived at by way of exegesis. The latter is the more necessary, the less decisive the external confirmation is. This may be seen first of all in those examples, in which *inter-*

Conjecture. *polation* can be proved with great probability. 1 John v. 7 ("the three witnesses in heaven") has against it *all* Greek Codd., with the exception of three Codd. of the period from the eleventh to the sixteenth century, all ancient versions even the more ancient Codd. of the Vulg. (as particularly the Amiat. and the Fuld.), all the Greek Fathers until in the eleventh century, and all the Latin Fathers to Vigilius of Thapsus. This unanimity raises the spuriousness of these words to absolute certainty, and makes all conjectural criticism superfluous. The interpolation arose in the Latin Church, probably in the sixth century; Vigilius of Thapsus is the first who cites it, and thence it passed over into the more modern Codd. of the Vulgate, and into several very late manuscripts, whence it was received into the editions of R. Stephanus and the Elzevirs. Had this interpolation a dogmatic ground, so especially the

Matt. vi. 13. Doxology, Matt. vi. 13, proceeded from a liturgical ground. It is wanting in Codd. Vat., Sinaït., Cantabr., and several Minusc., in several Verss., as e.g. in the Vulg. (Codd. Amiat., Fuld., et al.), and in several Greek and Latin Fathers. Besides this, it is attested through scholia to many manuscripts, that these words are wanting in many ancient Codices. The spuriousness of this Doxology is, therefore, by so much the more indubitable as its rise is explicable. Far more important is the absence of

Mark xvi. 9-20. Mark xvi. 9-20 in Codd. Vat. and Sinaït., to which is to be added the fact that Cod. D. gives an entirely different and Cod. L. again still a different text of this section from the Textus Receptus. To this, moreover, we are to add the great host of variations that even those manuscripts contain, which have this passage in substantially the same form with the Ed. Recepta. Still further, Eusebius (Ad Marinum Ep. A. Mai.

nov. collect. IV.), Jerome (Ep. ad Hedibiam, Ep. CXX.), and others, testify to the absence of this section in the most accurate, in the greatest number, of the Greek manuscripts. The oldest witness, who has this conclusion, is Irenaeus; after him it is found in Codd. AC(D)EGHIK(L)MS etc., and in the following Verss.: in the ancient Syriac Verss., the Coptic, the Vulg., the Gothic (which, however, is defective from vs. 12 onwards). It is accordingly not certain, but very probable, that this appendix did *not* proceed from Mark himself;¹ on the other hand, it must be very ancient, and must date back at least into the second century. It owes its origin probably to a legend from the multi-form history of the resurrection. A similar origin, it is in the highest degree probable, has the account of the adulteress, John vii. 53–viii. 11. In the Codd. Vat. and Sinaït. John vii. 53
–viii. 11. it is altogether wanting; in A and C some leaves are wanting along here; but from an accurate estimate it appears that it cannot have been contained in these. Still other mss., as L and Δ (Sangall.), have instead of this an empty space. Many others which have the section, characterize it as doubtful. Among the versions, it is wanting in most manuscripts of the Peshito, in several of the Philoxenian, and in the Gothic. Finally, most of the Fathers pass over the section: Origen, Apollinaris, Theod. Mops., Chrysost., et al. On the other hand, the account is sustained by Codd. KM, and not a few others; further by Rufinus, perhaps also already by Papias, if the notice of Eusebius (Hist. Eccl. III. 39), ἐκτέθεται δὲ καὶ ἄλλην ἱστορίαν περὶ γυναικὸς ἐπὶ πολλαῖς ἁμαρτίαις διαβεβληθείσης ἐπὶ τοῦ κυρίου, ἣν τὸ καθ' Ἑβραίου εὐαγγέλιον περιέχει, has reference to this; which, indeed, is doubtful, for the reason that the history to which he alludes is taken from the “Gospel according to the Hebrews.” To these external grounds of doubt may be added two internal grounds,—the disproportionate multitude of

¹ For an able defense of the genuineness of these verses, see *Bleek*, Synoptische Erklärung, in loco. See also a monograph on the subject by *Burton*, and an Article by Dr. *J. A. Broadus*, in the Baptist Quarterly for 1869. — TR.

variations and the *un-Johannic language* (ἐπορεύθη. ὄρθρον vs. πρωί, λαός vs. ὄχλος, γραμματεῖς, διδάσκαλε vs. Παββί, etc., and such forms of speech as καθίσας ἐδίδασκεν αὐτούς, ἵνα ἔχωσιν κατηγορίαν. . . ., εἰς καθ' εἰς, ἀπὸ, τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἕως τῶν ἐσχάτων, etc.). But how can this section have come here into the text? Probably in much the same way as Mark xvi. 9 ff., viz. as a piece of the still somewhat plastic Gospel tradition.

- John v. 4. The interpolation John v. 4 (of the angel at the pool of Bethesda), which is not found in Codd. Vat., Sinaït., Ephraemi (primâ manu),¹ Cantabrig., and in several ancient versions, has
- Rom. viii. 1. also a legendary origin. The case is different with Rom. viii. 1, where the editions of Stephanus and the Elzevirs read μὴ κατὰ σάρκα περιπατοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ πνεῦμα. But these words are wanting in Codd. Vat., Sinaït., Ephr. (primâ manu), et al., and further in several versions. Codd. Alexandr. et Clarom. (secundâ manu), the Peschito, the Vulg., the Gothic, etc., have only μὴ κατὰ σάρκα περιπατοῦσιν. Clarom. (tertiâ manu), Basil. and many others, have the *whole* addition. The addition is evidently a *gloss*, having its origin in the reflection that verse 1 might be practically dangerous, if to the words οὐδὲν ἄρα νῦν κατάκριμα a limitation were not added. Yet it might be that it was a mere oversight occasioned by a deviation of the eye upon
- Matt. v. 11. verse 4 (?). It is more uncertain whether ψευδόμενοι in Matt. v. 11 is a mere gloss. Judged according to the grounds of internal probability, it must be regarded as such, since it removes the moral stumbling-block of the briefer reading, as if *every* wicked, lying mouth were a joyful proof of our belonging to the kingdom of God. But since it is supported by the most important manuscripts, as the Vat., Sinaït., Ephr., and many others, as well as by very ancient Verss., as both the Syriac and both the Latin, it is ventured to vindicate this reading. With
- Matt. v. 22. more ground is in Matt. v. 22 the word εἰκῆ, although very well attested by Codd., Verss., and Fathers, regarded as a gloss,

¹ Many of the most ancient mss. have been several times renewed (having faded) and corrected. Such experts as Tischendorf and Tregelles have been able by great diligence to distinguish the original mss. from the corrections, and all of the latter from one another. — Tr.

since in addition to the fact that the shorter reading makes the impression of representing all anger as worthy of condemnation, whereas the longer reading removes this offence, $\epsilon\iota\kappa\eta$ is wanting in Codd. Vat. and Sinaït., et al., in almost all manuscripts of the Vulg., also in Origen and some other ancient Fathers; and some Greek and Latin witnesses say expressly that $\epsilon\iota\kappa\eta$ does not stand in the old and accurate manuscripts. This word is, therefore, with great probability to be regarded as a gloss. What has been said is to be summed up in the following *critical principles*: 1) we are to hold every passage to be a *traditional* addition, which α) is omitted or in a positive manner designated as doubtful by the oldest and most important witnesses; if it β) presents an extraordinary number of variations; γ) if it shows a break, interrupts the connection, or at least could be omitted without injuring the connection; and if, again, δ) it shows a linguistic character deviating from that of the author under consideration. 2) A word or sentence is to be regarded as a *gloss*, if the expression under consideration, α) has not in its favor the oldest and best witnesses; and if, indeed, it is expressly attested that it is not found in the oldest and most accurate manuscripts; β) if it removes a moral or dogmatic stumbling-block, and γ) if it explains and alleviates a difficult thought. Therefore, in such a case, even with stronger external confirmation, the *more offensive or harder reading* is to be preferred to the inoffensive and easier.

Critical
principles.

5. Additional Examples.

Cf. further the variations in John vii. 8 and 1 Cor. xv. 51. John vii. 8. In the first passage the words run according to the ordinary text: $\upsilon\mu\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \alpha\nu\acute{\alpha}\beta\eta\tau\epsilon\ \epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \tau\eta\nu\ \epsilon\omicron\rho\tau\eta\nu,\ \epsilon\gamma\omega\ \omicron\upsilon\pi\omega\ \alpha\nu\alpha\beta\alpha\acute{\iota}\nu\omega\ \epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \tau.\ \epsilon\omicron\rho\tau.\ \tau\alpha\upsilon\tau.$ This reading has exceedingly strong confirmation, since the passage runs thus in Codd. Vat., Basil., and most of the other Uncials; and to these are to be added some manuscripts of the Vulg., the Gothic, Upper Egyptian, and other versions. But in Codd. Sinaït., Cantabr., and some others, also in many versions, as in most Codd. of the Vulg., in the Lower Egyptian, in the Syriac according to Cureton, stands $\omicron\upsilon\kappa\ \alpha\nu\alpha\beta\alpha\acute{\iota}\nu\omega\ \dots$;

and this reading is also attested by Jerome, who mentions (Adv. Pelag. 2, 17), that Porphyry, supported by this passage, has accused Jesus of inconsistency ; further by Epiphanius and Chrysostom, who, however, cites the passage as if it read οὐκ ἀναβαίνω νῦν ... According to the reading οὐκ ἀναβ. the passage is very difficult, and the conduct of Jesus very enigmatical ; even the Fathers mentioned have striven to vindicate Jesus from the appearance of wavering. How now would this difficult and offensive reading have arisen if οὐπω had been the original ? On the other hand, the reading οὐπω is quite easily explained, precisely from the offence which the οὐκ ἀναβ. coll.

1Cor. xv. 51. with verse 10 must have occasioned. 1 Cor. xv. 51 runs according to the ordinary text thus : πάντες μὲν οὐ κοιμηθησόμεθα, πάντες δὲ ἀλλαγησόμεθα, which reading is confirmed by the Vat., Clarom. (by the second hand), and many others, also by both Syriac Verss., the Coptic, Aethiopic, Gothic, and by several ancient Fathers and exegetes. On the other hand (so Griesbach in the margin and Lachmann), the Codd. Sinait., Alexandr., Ephr., Boerner., have the passage in the following form : πάντες μὲν κοιμηθησόμεθα, οὐ πάντες δὲ ἀλλαγησόμεθα, for which reading also many Fathers witness. Here likewise, now, the question arises : Which reading as to its origin is easier to explain ? Evidently the latter, since the former must be difficult and offensive, for the reason that the result seemed to contradict the words of the Apostle. That, furthermore, in order to remove this offence, there was much ado made about the correction, the many little deviations bear witness, of which the most important is, that Origen in the passage gives merely the words : πάντες κοιμηθησόμεθα. Here, therefore, the Received Text (so also Tischendorf) has evidently the original. If in these passages the alteration of the text owes its origin to attempts to remove a *religious* stumbling-block, there are passages where it has been attempted to remove *geographical* or *historical* difficulties. The most familiar example is John i. 28, which, according to the Ed. Elzev. runs : ταῦτα ἐν Βηθαβαρὰ ἐγένετο, according to some Uncial

Geographical and historical difficulties.

John i. 28.

manuscripts, several Verss., and Fathers. On the contrary, by far the most of the Uncials, and among them precisely the best, have *Βηθανία*, for which also, among others, both the Latin and both the Egyptian Verss. and several Fathers witness. Here, now, the great preponderance of the ancient Codd. would already give the preference to the latter reading; but to this must be added still the decisive ground, that it can be shown with certainty how the former reading arose. Origen, namely, says (Tom. VI. § 24) that it stands, indeed, in nearly all manuscripts: *ταῦτα ἐν Βηθανίᾳ ἐγένετο*, but that he has visited the region, and found on the Jordan no place of this name, which is rather the well-known suburb of Jerusalem, but found, indeed a Bethabara, and so, in his opinion, must it be read. Another passage of this kind is Matt. viii. 28 coll. with Mark v. 1, Luke viii. 26. *Matthew* reads according to the Recepta *Γεργεσηνῶν*, a reading supported by several Uncials; on the other hand, Vat., Ephr. (primâ manu), and other Uncials, also both Syriac Verss., the Vulg., and several Fathers have *Γαδαρηνῶν* (Sinaït. *Γαζαρηνῶν*?) The relation of testimony is otherwise in *Mark*, where Alexandr., Ephr., and the great majority of the rest of the Uncials read *Γαδαρηνῶν*, while Vat., Sinaït., Cantab., and both Latin Verss. have *Γερασηνῶν*, and other witnesses *Γεργεσηνῶν*. In *Luke* the Textus Receptus, supported by a great number of Uncials and some Verss., reads *Γαδαρηνῶν*; Vat., Sinaït., Cantab., both Latin Verss., the Upper Egyptian Vers., and the Philoxenian have *Γερασηνῶν*, very much the same witnesses in *Luke* as in *Mark* have *Γεργεσηνῶν*. In *Mark* and *Luke* the reading *Γερασηνῶν* appears to be critically assured, while *Γεργεσηνῶν* appears to have arisen from the geographical notice of Origen, that the place of the occurrence cannot be Gadara, because there is no sea in the neighborhood of this place; while Gergesa is an ancient town on the sea of Genesaret, and has a precipice from which the swine could hurl themselves. *Γεργεσηνῶν* must accordingly be regarded as a correction, while *Γαδαρηνῶν* and *Γερασηνῶν* are more original, but perhaps attributable to ignorance on the part of the very

Matt. viii.
23 coll. with
Mark v. 1,
Luke viii. 26

- ancient copyists. It is a difficulty that the author of Matthew, who was presumably familiar with the country, has the geographically incorrect, but critically assured, *Γαδαρηνῶν*. But we know not how our canonical Matthew is related to the original Hebrew [Aramaic] Matthew, whose author was, at all events, familiar with the country. At other times the variation is occasioned by a really or apparently incorrect *citation*.
- Incorrect citation.**
- Mark i. 2.** An example is Mark i. 2. Here the Received Text, supported by the great majority of Uncial manuscripts, some versions, and by Iranaeus, reads: *καθὼς γέγραπται ἐν τοῖς προφήταις*. On the other hand, Codd., Vat., Sinaït., Cantabr., and other Uncials, as also the majority of the ancient versions, and several Fathers have: *ἐν (τῷ) Ἡσαΐα τῷ προφῆτῃ*. But now the passage: "Behold I send my messengers before thy face," is found not in Isaiah but in Malachi (iii. 1), as already Eusebius, for instance, saw. Since now it is not at all clear how the reading, *ἐν τ. Ἡσ. τῷ προφ.* could have arisen and have found its way into precisely the best Codd., if *ἐν τοῖς προφ.* had been the original reading, the latter must be regarded as a correction. Just such is the case with the incorrect citation in
- Matt. xxvii. 9.** Matt. xxvii. 9 (*τὸ ῥηθὲν διὰ τοῦ προφήτου Ἰερεμίου*), since the passage stands not in Jeremiah, but in Zechariah (xi. 13). Nevertheless, the reading *διὰ τοῦ προφ. Ἰερεμίου* is so abundantly attested, that Textual Criticism is obliged, indeed, on this account to give it the preference. A similar case is Mark ii. 26, where the reading *ἐπὶ Ἀβιάθαρ ἀρχιερέως*, confirmed by the most and the best Codd., is a historical mistake, since according to 1 Sam. xxi. 1, this event in David's life took place not under the high-priest Abiathar, but under Ahimelech. The very weakly confirmed variations of this passage must, therefore, be regarded as corrections of a few copyists. But there occurs also
- Acts xiii. 33** a case in which the citation is only apparently defective, and is corrected from ignorance; so Acts xiii. 33. Here, namely, the passage Ps. ii. 7, according to Cod. Cantabr., Origen, Tertullian (*Adversus Marcionem*, 4, 22), Hilary, Jerome, and Cassiodorus, who testify at the same time that Ps. i. and ii. were embraced

in one, is introduced with the words *ὡς καὶ ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ ψάλμῳ γεγράφται*. The reading of the ordinary text *ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ* is to be regarded as a correction, although it is supported in part by the most important manuscripts. What has been derived from the consideration of the foregoing examples may be summed up in the following principles: 1) Of two or more readings, that is to be rejected which betrays an attempt to *remove a difficulty*, and that to be held as genuine which *presents the difficulty*. 2) This rule is to be observed even if the presumably correct reading has the preponderance of critical testimony against it. 3) Yet also a reading betraying the hand of a corrector can be decisively rejected as such, and a reading on internal grounds held to be genuine can be really set forward as such, only if this latter is supported by at least one, or still better, by *some* testimonies, and that too of different kinds.

Principles.

6. Corruptions for the Sake of Harmony.

A frequent cause of the corruption of the text was the *striving after harmony*, whether among the Evangelists or between the Old Testament citations and the LXX. As regards the harmony that was sought between the New Testament parallel passages, we avail ourselves for illustration of the following examples: Luke xi. 4 coll. with Matt. vi. 13. Matthew, as is well-known, concludes the Lord's Prayer with the words *ἀλλὰ ῥῦσαι ἡμᾶς*, etc. Just so, according to the ordinary text, reads Luke, and this reading is attested with extraordinary strength, being that of (among others) Codd. Alexandr., Ephr., Cantabr., Basil., and many versions. But Codd. Vat., Sinaït., together with some cursives, omit these words and have the Prayer only to *εἰς πειρασμόν*, and what gives greater weight to these witnessings is the fact that Origen twice expressly says that the words *ἀλλὰ ῥῦσαι ἡμᾶς* are omitted by Luke. Jerome and Augustine bear the same testimony. It cannot be seen at all how these words, if original, could have been omitted; on the other hand, it is very easy to see how a striving for conformity could have interpolated this addition. Accordingly, this reading, despite the excellent confirmation, is to be regarded as

New Test.
parallels.Luke xi. 4
coll. with
Matt. vi. 13.

John xix. 14
coll. with
Mark xv. 25.

spurious. We have here, moreover, again a proof that among the Uncial manuscripts Cod. Vat. (together with the Sinaït.), is often almost alone in giving the genuine reading. See further John xix. 14 coll. with Mark xv. 25. John says — after having mentioned that Pilate took his place on the seat of judgment for the purpose of pronouncing his judgment on Jesus — ὥρα ἦν ὡς ἑκτῇ, and this reading is attested by Codd. Vat., Sinaït., Alex., and many other Uncials; further by both Latin, both Egyptian, and both Syriac versions, as also by many Fathers and ancient scholia. But this now appears to be in flagrant contradiction with Mark xv. 25, where after the mention of the crucifixion it is said, ἦν δὲ ὥρα τρίτη. The contradiction remains, even if we suppose that the one statement rests on the Roman, and the other on the Jewish method of computation.¹ If, therefore, some few Uncials, e.g. Cod. Sangall., also Eusebius, in the Chronicon and in the Ep. ad Marinum, read: ὥρα ἦν ὡς τρίτη, we must regard this as a variation for the sake of conformity; yet the observation of Severinus of Antioch (Ed. Mai IV. 209), is worthy of notice, that the difference arose from the confounding of the single Γ with the Aeolic F. The otherwise interesting notice of Eusebius, that the autograph of John's Gospel, which in his time was preserved and exhibited at Ephesus, read τρίτη, stands too much isolated, and rests merely on the mediate testimony of Severinus of Antioch.

Gal. ii. 5. Here also belongs, perhaps, Gal. ii. 5. Here Codd. Vat., Sinaït., Alex., Ephr., and other Uncials, further both Syriac versions, the Vulg., the Gothic, also very many Fathers, both Latin and Greek, read: οἷς οὐδὲ πρὸς ὥραν εἴξαμεν. On the other hand, οὐδέ is omitted by Cod. Clarom., by Irenaeus, Tertullian, and Codd. in Jerome. In Jerome's time, in general, most of the Greek manuscripts seem to have read οὐδέ; most of the Latin to have omitted it. How, now, could it happen that a variation arose which said precisely the contradictory of the original? It could be said on exegetical grounds against the genuineness of οὐδέ, that — after it had been said (v. 3)

¹ Cf. *Godet, Tholuck, and Meyer* in loco Joh. — TR.

ἀλλ' οὐδὲ Τίτος . . . ἡναγκάσθη περιτμηθῆναι — what follows is connected with δέ, and requires as a counterpart a *positive* proposition. But such were not at all, as a rule, the grounds and considerations according to which the ancient copyists and correctors proceeded. Rather, it was either regarded as more suitable to the situation, to suppose that Paul momentarily yielded (see Tertullian Adv. Marcionem, V. 3), or an inconsistency was found in the fact that Paul, according to Acts xvi. 3, circumcised Timothy for the sake of the Jews present; and now, in similar circumstances, has not yielded to those who desired the circumcision of Titus. Through the omission, then, of οὐδέ the inconsistency is completely removed, not, to be sure, to the advantage of the intention of the whole passage, in which the Apostle evidently means to show that he has maintained his independence over against his Jewish-Christian opponents. That the δέ (vs. 4) requires a positive antithesis is indeed no constraining ground, since to say nothing of the fact that δέ here may be merely metabatic, there is no lack of examples, especially in Paul, where after a negative proposition the antithetical δέ again stands at the head of a negative proposition; so Rom. iv. 20. But we find not only a striving for conformity of the subject-matter, but also for *verbal* conformity. Cf. Mark i. 16 with Matt. iv. 18. The passage in Mark according to the Ed. Elzev. runs thus: Περιπατῶν δὲ παρὰ τὴν θαλάσσαν τῆς Γαλιλαίας. So read many Uncial manuscripts, especially Alex., Augiens., Sangall., and some versions. On the other hand, in the Vat., Sinaït., Cantabr., and many Cursives, in both the Latin, the Coptic, Gothic, and other versions, it is καὶ παράγων . . . Since now the former reading agrees verbally with the passage in Matthew, which is critically established, the rise of the latter reading would be inexplicable, if περιπατῶν δέ were the original. See further, Mark iv. 6 compared with Matt. xiii. 6. The Ed. Elzev. has the passage in Mark, thus: ἡλίου δὲ ἀνατείλακτος . . ., which reading is supported by Codd. Alex., Basil., Aug., and a great number of others, and agrees with Matt. xiii. 6. Therefore, the reading

Mark i. 16;
Matt. iv. 18.

Mark iv. 6
coll. with
Matt. xiii. 6

Mark ii. 7
coll. with
Matt. ix. 3
and Luke v.
21.

presented in Codd. Vat., Sinaït., Ephr., Cantabr., καὶ ὅτε ἀνέτειλεν ὁ ἥλιος, is to be regarded as the more original, not merely by reason of the weight of the testimonies, but also by reason of the non-agreement with the passage in Matthew. The case is somewhat more complicated with Mark ii. 7, because here, not only Matt. ix. 3, but also Luke v. 21 is to be compared. In Matthew it is said: οὗτος βλασφημεῖ, in Luke τίς ἐστιν οὗτος, ὃς λαλεῖ βλασφημίας; both these conceptions seem to have flowed together in Mark. Hence the wavering here between λαλεῖ βλασφημίας (Codd. Alex., Ephr., Basil., Aug., and several versions), and τίς οὗτος οὕτως λαλεῖ; βλασφημεῖ (Vat., Sinaït., Cantabr.; Verss. Vulg., Copt., et al.), in which no internal ground is decisive for the one or the other reading, and the external testimonies also are divided, unless we follow the often confirmed authority of the Cod. Vat.

7. Old Testament Citations and the LXX.

LXX Text
corrupt.

Luke xxiii.
46 coll. with
Ps. xxx. 6
(LXX).

Almost oftener still it occurs that *Old Testament citations*, which are frequently merely citations from memory or are otherwise inaccurate, are made to conform to the original passage (i.e. to the LXX). Here, of course, circumspection is necessary, because the text of the LXX is exceedingly corrupt, and not seldom, conversely, the Old Testament passage under consideration has been assimilated to the New Testament citation. Yet in the following passages, e.g. the critical judgment can hardly be doubtful; Luke xxiii. 46 coll. with Ps. xxx. 6 (LXX). The words of Jesus run according to the ordinary text: εἰς χεῖράς σου παραθήσομαι τὸ πνεῦμά μου, a reading supported by a considerable number of manuscripts. On the other hand, the Vat., Sinaït., Alex., Ephr., and not a few others, have παρατίθεμαι . . ., for which the weight of testimony, as well as the deviation from the LXX, bears favorable witness. See

Rom. ix. 27
coll. with
Isa. x. 22.

further, Rom. ix. 27 coll. with Isa. x. 22, where the ὑπολείμμα deviating from the LXX, but supported by Codd. Vat., Sinaït., Alex., is certainly to be preferred to the ordinary reading καταλείμμα, from the fact that no manuscript of the LXX reads Rom. ix. 33 ὑπολείμμα. A precisely similar case seems to be Rom. ix. 33 coll.

Isa. viii. 14. The Ed. Elzev., namely, has the passage in Romans ^{coll. with} thus : . . . καὶ πᾶς ὁ πιστεύων ἐπ' αὐτῷ οὐ κατασυνθήσεται, ^{Isa. viii. 14.} without Codd. of great weight, but confirmed by the Vulg., Philoxen., and other testimonies. But Codd. Vat., Sinait., Alex., Clarom., and several Fathers have the passage without πᾶς. The important testimonies for the latter, as well as the non-agreement with the LXX, condemn the former reading as a correction for the sake of conformity with the Old Testament passage. It is to be observed that in Rom. x. 11 where this passage is quoted, πᾶς stands without variation. Yet, we must not forget to consider whether or not the author in question was accustomed to cite accurately, as was the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews; in the former case the principle is not unconditionally applicable. What has been said in this paragraph may be summed up in the following rules: 1) First of all, we are to ascertain with care, whether the variation may not be a mere error of a copyist, or an error to be explained on palaeographical grounds, or otherwise *accidental*; if, on the other hand, the change is probably an arbitrary one, 2) the principle must be applied, that if in a parallel passage two or more readings are found, of which the one is more like the original passage, the other more unlike, the *more unlike* is to be regarded as the *more original*. Yet, in this we must inquire, α) whether the passages are really parallel; β) whether the more unlike is supported by one or several respectable witnesses, and γ) whether the author under consideration is accustomed to cite freely according to the LXX, as was Paul, or to cite accurately according to this version.

Consideration of the author's usage.

Rules.

3. Grammatical Corrections.

More frequently the variations find their explanation in *grammatical corrections* or in attempts to remove linguistic difficulties. Examples are: Matt. v. 28, where the reading of the Ed. Elzev. πρὸς τὸ ἐπιθυμῆσαι αὐτῆς is a correction of the barbarous, but original πρὸς τ. ἐπιθ. αὐτήν; Matt. xv. 32, where the difficult and incorrect construction ὅτι ἡδὴ ἡμέραι τρεῖς προσμένουσίν μοι has been changed into . . . ἡμέρας τρεῖς. . . In

Matt. v. 28.

Matt. xv. 32.

- Mark ix. 26.** Mark ix. 26 on account of the neuter subject *πνεῦμα* (see vs. 25) the original *κράξας* and *σπαράξας* has been corrected into *κράξαν*
- Luke xxiii. 63.** and *σπαράξαν*. A similar case is Luke xxiii. 63, where on account of the neuter object *σῶμα* (v. 52, coll. 1st Hemist. v: V. 53) the original *αὐτόν*, which is put ad sensum (*Ἰησοῦν*), has been changed into *αὐτό*. John vi. 9 stands in the received text *παιδάριον ἔν δ' ἔχει . . .*, a correction of the original *ὅς . . .*
- John vi. 9.** In John xvii. 2 and 3 the Subjunctives *δώσῃ* and *γινώσκωσιν* seem to be corrections of the incorrect use of the Indicative after *ἵνα*, peculiar to the later Greek. Yet it is to be observed with regard to the latter passage, that Codd. Vat. and Sinaït., which otherwise so often, especially when they agree, have the correct reading, also read *δώσῃ* and *γινώσκωσιν*. This is the more remarkable from the fact that nearly the same witnesses that
- Gal. ii. 4.** have here the Subjunctive, read in Gal. ii. 4 *ἵνα ἡμᾶς καταδου-*
- 1 Cor. iv. 6.** *λώσουσιν*. On the other hand, 1 Cor. iv. 6 has *ἵνα μὴ . . . φυνσιῶσθε*, without variation. With reference to the passage in John, there must be still some doubt whether *δώσει* and *γινώσκουσιν* were the original writing.
- Linguistic asperities.** The efforts of the correctors were also directed to the removing and mollification of certain linguistic asperities. See Mark
- Mark iii. 16.** iii. 16; here the ordinary text, supported by a host of good witnessess, has *κ. ἐπέθηκεν τῷ Σίμωνι ὄνομα Πέτρον*; but this looks very like an alleviation of the reading presented by Codd. Vat., Sinaït., Ephr., *ἐπέθηκεν ὄνομα τῷ Σίμωνι Πέτρον*. This is so much the more probable, from the fact that some witnesses
- Mark ix. 23.** contain also other supposed emendations. In Mark ix. 23, *τὸ εἰ δύνῃ* appears at first sight peculiar, and yet it is confirmed by the three oldest manuscripts. We have, therefore, ground for regarding the unusually well-attested reading of the Ed. Elzev., *τὸ εἰ δύνῃ (δύνασαι) πιστέσθαι* as an alleviating explanation. In
- Mark ii. 7.** the same category also belongs, perhaps, the passage, Mark ii. 7, already cited, where the reading of the Ed. Elzev. *τί οὗτος λαλεῖ βλασφημίας* is an unmistakable alleviation of the genuine reading *τί οὗτος οὕτως λαλεῖ; βλασφημεῖ*. Most familiar and
- Gal. ii. 5.** most unmistakable of all is the fact, that in Gal. ii. 5 the omis-

sion of οἷς by some ancient witnesses is an alleviation, since by reason of the οἷς the construction is difficult and anacoluthic. Of the genuineness of the οἷς, the external confirmation and the ground just given leave not the slightest doubt. From what has been said the following rules may be deduced: 1) Every reading that has the character of a *correction* or an *alleviation* is at least doubtful, and the *more incorrect* and *more difficult* — barring evident transcribers' errors — are to be preferred. 2) The probability advances to certainty if the harder reading be supported by the oldest and most important manuscripts. Rules.

9. Changes for Ecclesiastical Reasons.

Finally, we may observe still another cause of the alteration of the text, viz. it might happen that a passage presupposed a custom or a notion that appeared to be *antagonistic to a notion or a custom of the later church*. In such cases it was sought through a little change or omission to remove the antagonism, and to make the passage conform to the custom or opinion of the dominant church. Cf. Matt. xxviii. 19. Most editions Matt. xxviii
19. read μαθητεύσατε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, βαπτίζοντες αὐτοὺς . . . supported by Codd. Sinait., Alexandr., and a great number of others, as well as by both the Latin versions and some Fathers. On the other hand, Vat. and Cantabr. read βαπτίσαντες, doubtless on the ground that after the third century infant baptism became common. See further, the already cited passage 1 Cor. 1 Cor. xv. 51. xv. 51, where the reading wavers between πάντες (μὲν) οὐ κοιμηθησόμεθα, πάντες δὲ ἀλλαγησόμεθα and πάντες μὲν κοιμηθησόμεθα, οὐ πάντες δὲ ἀλλαγησόμεθα. The former reading, as the undoubtedly original, sprang from the expectation on the part of the early Christians of the speedy Parousia, which subsequent experience contradicted; hence the change. It is less certain whether in Matt. i. 25 the omission of the word πρωτότοκον Matt. i. 25. belongs to this category. The omission is, of course, very much to the interest of the church, in removing what might be prejudicial to the constant virginity of Mary. Yet it may be urged as a consideration against the genuineness of the πρωτότοκον, that the omission is confirmed by Codd. Vat., Sinait.,

Rules.

and Dublin. We may sum up the contents of the paragraph in the following propositions: 1) Of two readings, of which the one is opposed to the later custom or opinion of the church, the other agreeing with it, the *former* has the probability of genuineness on its side. 2) This probability, however, amounts to certainty only if it is confirmed by the oldest and most important testimonies; but if this is not the case, the weaker the support of the reading in question is, the more doubtful must be the critical judgment.

10. Collective Result.

Text
Criticism
precedes
exegesis.External
attestations
and internal
probability.Antiquity
and impor-
tance.Internal
grounds.

The *collective result* for the critical procedure is the following: a) As a rule the ascertainment of the right reading precedes all exegesis; but this rule admits of exceptions, as often as this ascertainment is difficult, and is conditioned in part by internal grounds of linguistic usage and of the connection. b) The critical judgment must always be built as well upon the relative value of the external attestations as upon grounds of internal probability; for cases in which these are mutually contradictory no general rule can be laid down. c) As regards the value of external testimonies, antiquity and importance, especially if they are of different origin and different kind, is to be preferred to multitude; yet even the oldest manuscript is no infallible authority. d) With regard to the internal grounds, everything may be summed up in one principle: *The original reading is that from which the rise of the others can be explained.*

2. The Grammatical Explanation.

a) The Character of the New Testament Language in general.

Cf. *Bernhardy*, Grundriss der Griechischen Literatur. I. 432 ff.

Winer, Grammar of the Idiom of the New Testament (Prof. Thayer's ed.).

Alex. Buttmann, New Testament Grammar (Prof. Thayer's ed.).

[Prof. *James Hadley*, The Language of the New Testament, in Smith's Dictionary of the Bible (Am. ed.).

Alex. Roberts, Discussions on the Gospels].

II. General Discussion.

Referring, as we do, for the details to the works cited above, we may here be content with the most essential observations. It

is well-known, that the Greek language was of old divided into various dialects, but then, through the intellectual blooming Dialects. of the country, especially of Athens, had attained to such a perfection and delicacy as no other language ever did; but that, in consequence of the Macedonian conquest, it lost much of its delicacy, and that then was formed a composite language, of which indeed the Attic dialect formed the basis, but in which elements of other dialects also, especially of the Macedonian and the Alexandrine, were combined. Thus was formed a general General literary language. *literary language* (διάλεκτος κοινή) in which Polybius, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Diodorus Siculus, Dio Cassius, Aelian, Herodian, and others wrote. Besides the Atticisms, Ionicisms, Doricisms, and Aeolicisms, the διάλεκτος κοινή shows still the following peculiarities: Peculiarities. *a)* Words that occur seldom or only in poetical discourse in the old Greek now become more Poetical words used in prose. common, and pass over into plain prose, as e.g. μεσονύκτιον, θεοστνγής, βρέχω, to moisten, ἔσθω for ἐσθίω, and others. *b)* Words long in use receive another form, as ἀνάθημα for ἀνάθημα, Change of form. γενέσια for γενέθλια, ἐκπαλαί for παλαί, χθές for ἐχθές, ἰκεσία for ἰκετεία, μισθοποδοσία for μισθοδοσία, μονόφθαλμος for ἐτερόφθαλμος, νουθεσία for νουθέτησις, ὀπτασία for ὄψις, ἡ ὀρκομοσία for τὰ ὀρκ., ὁ πλίσιον for ὁ πέλας, ποταπός for ποδαπός, etc. Especially frequent become verbal forms in -ίζω, in -ω pure instead of in -μι (e.g. ὀμνῶ instead of ὀμνυμι), formed from the perfect, as στήκω, substantive in -μα. *c)* Words entirely New words. new, mostly words formed through composition, make their appearance, as ἀντίλυτρον, ἀλεκτοροφωνία, ἀποκεφαλίζω, ἀγαθοποιέω, αἰχμαλωτεύω, νυχθήμερον, σιτομέτριον, et al. *d)* Words New meanings of words. long familiar and current receive new meanings, as ἀνακλίνειν and ἀναπίπτειν to recline at table, ἀποκριθῆναι to answer, ἀποτάσσεσθαι to take leave, δαίμων or δαιμόνιον evil spirit, εὐχαρισθεῖν to thank, ξύλον tree, παρακαλεῖν to pray, στέγειν to endure, to bear up, φθάνειν to come, to arrive, χρηματίζειν to be called, ψωμίζειν to eat, to nourish, et al. In a grammatical point of view the following may be observed. *a)* Inflections of nouns Peculiar inflections. and verbs occur which at an earlier period were either entirely

unknown or peculiar to a single dialect, e.g. the Doricism ἀφένται for ἀφεῖνται, the Aeolic optative ending in -εια, the ending of the second person of the Present and Future Passive and Middle in	
Infrequency of Dual.	-ει instead of in -η, etc. b) Infrequency of the use of the Dual, as e.g. δίσσι instead of δυοῖν. c) Infrequency of the employment of the Optative. (In the Johannean writings it does not occur at all). d) The construing of certain verbs with other
Rareness of Optative.	Cases, especially with the Accusative, as ἐπιθυμῆν τι instead of
Change of Cases.	τινός, φοβέισθαι ἀπό instead of ὑπό and Accusative et al. e)
Weakening of ἵνα.	The weakening of ἵνα in the formulae, θέλω ἵνα, λέγω ἵνα, ἄξιος ἵνα, and many others. f) Use of the Subjunctive instead of
Subjunctive vs. Optative	the Optative after Preterites, etc. A still greater degradation
ἵνα with Indicative.	of the language finds place in the construction of ἵνα with the Indicative, and not with the Future only, but even with the
σύν with Genitive.	Present Indicative, of σύν with the Genitive, the confounding of the Cases and Tenses, etc. The latter peculiarities do not occur, however, in authors of Greek nationality, nor in educated authors.

12. Literary and Popular Language.

Liability to change in the hands of foreigners.	A difference often overlooked, but which should not be overlooked in the New Testament writers, is that between the literary and the popular language. If already in the native land of the Greek language such a difference may have found place, this must have been the case in a still higher degree, in countries whose national language was not originally the Greek. Many modern analogies could be adduced. That thus a deterioration of the language, at least in relation to form, must enter, is self-evident. Yet this popular Greek may be viewed from another point of view also as a normal simplification. While the literary language, under the influence of philosophic culture, had gained the form that it then had, the popular language remained nearer to the naïve simplicity. This appears especially in the psychological terminology, in as far as the popular language remained foreign to the spiritualistic distinctions. Since, now, the New Testament writers drew their Greek not from Aristotle, Polybius, in general not from Greek
Normal simplification.	
Sources of the N. Test. Greek.	

literature, but first of all only from the popular language and from the Alexandrine version of the Old Testament, their language is to be judged not according to the usage of the classical authors, but according to the latter sources. Yet there is a distinction not to be overlooked between the individual writers, in that Luke and the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews seem not to have been entirely strangers to the Greek culture of their time. Cf. *Zetzschwitz*, *Profangrécitât und biblischer Sprachgeist*,¹ pp. 24 ff.

Differences
in individual
writers.

13. Influence of Shemitic Contact.

Through the Macedonian world-dominion the Greek language spread itself over countries and peoples whose languages bore no relationship with it. This was especially the case with the *Shemitic* peoples. The Greek universal language must, therefore, receive among these peoples an Oriental, and among the Jews more definitely, a *Hebrew-Aramaic coloring*.² Here also, referring to the works mentioned above, we present only what is more essential. What is usually understood by New Testament Hebraisms is of various kinds; these are a) such expressions, forms of speech, and constructions as are frequent, indeed, in the Shemitic idiom, but are in use also in the Greek language. This case may again be distinguished into examples where the expression under consideration occurs, indeed, in Greek also, but only *seldom*, in which case the biblical writer certainly derived it not from the Greek, but from his native idiom; or where perchance the form of expression occurs in Greek and Hebrew with *equal frequency*, so that there may be doubt from which idiom it proceeded. b) Expressions, forms of speech, and constructions, to which *nothing* can be found in Greek that corresponds. Such are Hebraisms proper. But these again are of two kinds; they were either drawn from the Hebrew language of the *Old Testament*, or were derived from the *Aramaic* or Syro-Chaldaic dialect then in use in Palestine. To the former kind belong such expressions as *ἀπρον*

Aramaic
coloring of
N. T. Greek.

Impure
Hebraisms.

Pure
Hebraisms.

¹ "Profane Greek and the Linguistic Spirit of the Bible."—TR.

² Cf. *Art. in Bibliotheca Sacra* for 1876.—TR.

φάγειν (פָּאֵגֵי לֶחֶם) to partake of a meal, αἶμα ἐκχέειν (חָיַת דָּם) to kill, ἀνιστῆναι σπέρμα τινί ("לָרִיב לְרֵגֶל) to raise up posterity to any one, ἐκ κοιλίας μητρός (מִבֶּן אִמִּי) from one's birth up, ἐξέρχασθαι ἐκ τῆς ὄσφυος τινός ("מֵעַצְמוֹתַי אֶפְרָח) to spring from any one, ζητεῖν ψυχὴν τινος (בְּחַיֵּי אִישׁ) to seek any one's life, ποιεῖν ἔλεος μετὰ τινος (חַסְדִּי עִם אִישׁ) to show favor to any one, πρόσωπον λαμβάνειν (קַבֵּץ פָּנִים) to be a partaker of any one's favors, υἱὸς θανάτου (בֶּן מוֹת) having incurred death. γ) Hebrew meanings are transferred to Greek words, e.g. γλώσσα (as לִשָּׁן) nation, δόξα (as כְּבוֹד) brightness, δύναμις (as קִשְׁטָה) miracle, ἐρωτᾶν (as בָּשֵׁל) to beg, ἐξομολογεῖσθαι τινι (as הִתְהַלֵּךְ) to praise or to thank any one, εὐλογεῖν (as בֵּרַךְ) to bless, ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ ("לִפְנֵי אֱלֹהִים) according to the judgment of God, εἰς (= אֶחָד) the first, νύμφη (as חֲמוּסָה) daughter-in-law, ὁδός (as דֶּרֶךְ) manner of life, περιπατεῖν (as הִתְהַלֵּךְ) of personal conduct, ποτήριον (as כּוֹס) lot, fate, πᾶσα σάρξ (as כָּל בָּשָׂר) every living creature, etc. δ) Hebraizing construction of verbs especially with prepositions, where the Greek has simply the Accusative or the Dative, e.g. ἀκολουθεῖν ὀπίσω τινός, εἶναι εἰς τι (as "לְרֵגֶל), κρύπτειν τι ἀπό τινος instead of τινά τι, ὁμνεῖν ἐν τινι instead of τι or τινά, ὁμολογεῖν ἐν τινι to confess any one. πορεύεσθαι ὀπίσω τινός, προσκυνεῖν ἐνώπιον (ἐμπροσθέν) τινος et al. ε)

Hebrew meanings to Greek words.

Hebraizing construction of verbs.

Imitation of Hebrew Relative.

Formula for oath.

Imitation of the Hebrew relative pronoun in the casus obliquus with suffix following, as οὗ τὸ πτόνον ἐν τῇ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ, οἷς ἐδόθη . . . αὐτοῖς, ὅπου . . . ἐκεῖ etc. ζ) The Hebraizing

formula for an oath with εἰ, e.g. ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν, εἰ δοθήσεται . . . shall by no means be given. An ellipsis, as is well-known, lies at the basis of this formula, which in Hebrew is now and then supplied: "God do to me this and that, if . . . see 1 Sam. iii. 17, et al.; but in the New Testament never. η) The

καὶ ἐγένετο

extraordinarily frequent καὶ ἐγένετο = וַיְהִי. The extremely frequent occurrence of καὶ belongs as well to the Shemitic idiom as to popular language in general, where other authors avail themselves of a more definite conjunction or of the participle (co-ordination instead of subordination), see e.g. Matt. xi. 25; xxvi. 45; Mark xv. 25; Luke xxiii. 44; John ii. 13; v.

1, et al. Only conditionally are we here to class the construction of a verb with a Particip. Pres. or with the Dative of the substantive of the same root, corresponding to the Hebrew Infin. Absol., as ἐπιθυμία ἐπεθύμησα, χαρᾷ χαίρει, θανάτῳ τελευτάω; since a similar construction occurs in the best Greek authors; yet especially in those writings that are strongly Hebraistic it is far more probable that the formulae were taken from the Hebrew than from the Greek linguistic usage. Not Aramaisms but *Aramaisms* are, on the other hand, such forms of expressions as γεῖσθαι θανάτου (גָּעִיִּם מָוֶת), ὀφείλημα ἀφίεναι (אָפֵיִלָּמָא רַפִּיִּי) etc. Finally, Hebrew and Aramaic words are adopted, as ἀμήν, ἀββά, ἀλληλούϊα, κορβάν, μαμωνᾶς, ῥαββονί, — as also πάσχα, which is formed not from the Hebrew פֶּסַח, but from the Aramaic פֶּסְחָא. In all this it is not to be forgotten, that all the New Testament authors are far from Hebraizing to the same extent. Matthew and Mark Hebraize more than John; the author of the Apocalypse most of all, the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews least of all. Neither does the same author Hebraize uniformly, e.g. Luke Hebraizes very little where he composes freely, very strongly, on the other hand, when he bases his composition on Hebrew sources.

Under the Roman domination *Latin* words¹ also found their way into the Jewish Greek, as κεντυρίων, κῆνσος, κουστωδία, κοδράντης, λεγεών, μακέλλον, πραιτώριον, σπεκουλάτωρ, τίτλος, and such forms of expression as ἔχε με παρητημένον, συμβούλιον λαμβάνειν, τὸ ἱκανὸν ποιῆν τι. The majority of these words and forms of expression occur in the two first Gospels.

14. The Specifically Christian Element.

Finally, the *specifically Christian* linguistic element in the New Testament is to be observed, to which Schleiermacher already called attention (see his *Hermen.* pp. 66 ff., 138 ff.). The Christian element of the biblical language must appear principally in the religious and the ethical ideas. These, as might be expected, differ very essentially from those common among the Attic writers, as well as among the κοινῶς. The ethical

¹ Cf. Art. in *Bibliotheca Sacra* for 1876. — TR.

idea καλὸς καγαθός, in vogue among the Greeks, is not found at all in the New Testament, just as little the idea so essential with the Greeks of σωφροσύνη. The idea of the good inhering in man, as such, which, in particular, the former word expresses, does not correspond to the New Testament idea; just as little does the μηδὲν ἀγάν express accurately what the New Testament writers understand by discretion, and such like. Not less foreign to the New Testament is the idea of the ἀνδρεία, as in general the tetrad of cardinal virtues. The word ἀρέτη also, used of men, is extremely rare in the New Testament. We may compare also the antique idea of δικαιοσύνη (see Plat. Rep. IV. p. 433, A) with the biblical. Scripture knows nothing of the thought that man is the measure of all things. On the contrary, the fundamental idea of the New Testament, as of the whole Bible in general, is that of holiness. This idea, indeed, is in a certain sense in no way foreign to the Greeks, but it is interesting to observe the various words with which the Greek writers, and the word with which the biblical writers designate the idea "holy." The Greek has for this idea the expressions ἄγνος (pure, as an inherent quality), and ἱερός (consecrated through sanction). The standing biblical expression for this is ἅγιος, used in the first instance of God (Isa. vi. 3; xl. 25; xliii. 3, and elsewhere), and denotes, first of all, not precisely moral perfection, but exaltation and glory revealing itself, that which inspires with reverence. Then also, of course, ἅγιος means spiritual purity, originally and in an absolute manner applied only to God (Levit. xix. 2; also Isa. vi. 3-5; Habac. i. 12, 13; 1 Pet. i. 15, 16; John xvii. 11 coll. Jas. i. 17 and 1 John i. 5); then, also, derivatively to angels and men who stand of communion with God (Ps. xvi. 3; xxxiv. 9; Rom. i. 7; 1 Cor. i. 2; iii. 17, et al.). The fundamental idea is the opposite to the common and the profane; positively, what inspires veneration. It is likewise very peculiar that ταπεινός, together with its derivatives, is in profane Greek commonly used in a contemptuous sense, while in the Scriptures, and especially in the New Testament, it is never applied otherwise

Holiness
the funda-
mental idea
of the N. T.

ἅγιος.

Ταπεινός.

than in the good sense. Most marked also is the idea κόσμος, *Κόσμος*, which in classical Greek always designates ornament, beautiful arrangement, and hence the beautifully arranged structure of the world; but in the New Testament it invariably designates "the world as created different from God and separated from God, yea the world as the essence of ungodliness." Further is to be observed μετανοέω and μετάνοια, not frequent with *Μετάνοια*. the Greeks, and where it occurs, for the most part only in the sense "to think otherwise," "to become of another opinion"; whereas in the New Testament, and especially in Luke, it is a standing idea, and never signifies anything else than the moral-religious change of mind, conversion. That the classical meaning of the word πίστις falls far below that of the New *Πίστις*. Testament is self-evident; but even in the LXX this word, as well as μετάνοια, is rare. It is remarkable, also, that the word ἀγάπη, a leading idea, as is well-known, in the New Testament, *Ἀγάπη*. is almost completely foreign to the profane Greek. Instead of this the Greek has φιλία, φιλανθρωπία, which is not the same. But even in the LXX ἀγάπη and ἀγαπάω are comparatively rare. One of the most characteristic marks of the difference between the New Testament and the profane Greek is the word Χάρις: the meaning "agreeableness, gracefulness," is entirely *χάρις*. foreign to the New Testament; on the other hand, it means constantly "friendliness, favor," but especially "(divine) grace." Cf. on the subject generally *Zetzschwitz*, Profangrécitât und biblischen Sprachgeist. 1859. II. *Cremer*, Biblisch-theologisches Wörterbuch der Neutestamentlichen Grécitât,¹ 2. Aufl. 1872. [*Trench*, New Testament Synonyms. *Grimm's* edition of Wilke's N. T. Lexicon, of which an English translation by Prof. Thayer of Andover is soon to be published. See also the Syllabus of Dr. *J. A. Broadus* appended to this volume].

¹ *Cremer's* "Biblico-theological Lexicon of the New Testament Greek (1st ed.), has been published in English by T. and T. Clark, Edinburgh. While it is extremely valuable, even in that form, the new edition is very greatly improved, and treats one hundred and twenty additional words. It is hoped that a second edition of the translation will not be long in appearing. — Tr.

*b. The Linguistic Peculiarities of the different New Testament Writers.*¹

15. General Survey.

The cognizance of linguistic peculiarities of individual authors a modern affair.

Nature of differences.

Accidental expressions not linguistic peculiarities.

So of accidental faults.

Linguistic peculiarities proper.

If the general linguistic character of the New Testament may be compared with the warp of the texture, the linguistic peculiarities of the individual authors may be compared with its woof. The cognizance of the latter is quite a modern affair, and is still capable of much enriching and correction. What has up to the present time been accomplished in this department, has been rather in the interest of criticism than of exegesis. The proof of the linguistic peculiarities must, of course, furnish its principal support to criticism, but the cognizance of the grammatical, lexical, and stylistic particularities of the individual writers is also important for exegesis and conditions insight into the spirit and the circle of thought of the writers. The linguistic differences of the New Testament authors are by no means limited to the greater or smaller number of Hebraisms, to the greater or smaller degree of the purity of their Greek, but have regard also to peculiar expressions, modes of speaking, constructions, and turns that have nothing to do with Hebraisms and Aramaisms. But to the linguistic peculiarities of an author belong *not* such expressions and turns as may be considered accidental, having their ground, as they do, in the plan of the given writing, or in the subject to be treated, or in the circumstances under which the author wrote. Just as little are the accidental faults of an author to be regarded as linguistic peculiarities. But what *do* come under this head are expressions, modes of speech, and turns, of which 1) it can be shown that in such a case the other author would, as a rule,

¹ On the linguistic peculiarities of the various New Testament writings, cf. the very able Articles in Smith's Dict. of the Bible. Though in some instances, perhaps, clinging too fondly to traditional views, and not allowing due weight to the results of modern criticism; yet they form a valuable safeguard against much of the criticism of recent German writers, who are too prone to regard every traditional view against which can be established the slightest suspicion, as utterly set aside, and put beyond profitable discussion. — Tr.

have used *different* ones ; which 2) stand in connection with the peculiar circle of thought and the peculiar doctrinal idea of the author under consideration, and which 3) furnish a proof of the author's special *form of thought*. Such peculiarities are especially there to be established where several undisputed writings of the same author, or at least one writing of greater compass, is at hand ; or where an important and definite originality is to be vindicated. A practised eye will also know how to observe more minute and more delicate differences of style. We adduce here only what is more essential, leaving the rest for further investigation.

Importance
of such criticism.

13. The Linguistic Character of Paul.

The linguistic character of the *Apostle Paul* is most certainly determined, if we confine ourselves at first to the writings of undisputed genuineness, viz. to Romans, 1 and 2 Corinthians, and Galatians, and then compare the other Pauline writings with these. a) What strikes the reader of the Pauline writings most forcibly of all is the dialectic character and the flow of the discourses. Hence the frequent occurrence of such formulae as τί οὖν ἐροῦμεν or merely τί οὖν ; ἐρεῖς οὖν and ἀλλ' ἐρεῖ τις, τί γὰρ, πῶς οὖν, ἄρα οὖν, λέγω δέ or ἀλλὰ λέγω and τοῦτο δὲ λέγω, εἰ γὰρ and εἰ δέ, the logical οὔκετι, οὐ μόνον δὲ ... ἀλλά. οὐκ οἶδατε ὅτι ... , etc. Here belong also the frequent introduction of possible objections, as in Rom. vi. 1, 15 ; ix. 14 ; xi. 1, 19 ; 1 Cor. ix. 4 f. ; x. 19, 22 ; xv. 29, 30 ; 2 Cor. iii. 1 ; xi. 7, et al. ; further, the frequent arguments ex absurdo, as in Rom. ii. 17 ff. ; vi. 1 ff. ; ix. 14 ; xi. 1 ; 1 Cor. xii. 15 ff. ; xiv. 23 ; xv. 12–19, 29 ff. ; Gal. ii. 14. b) There are, furthermore, to be observed certain favorite turns, as γνωρίζω δὲ ὑμῖν and οὐ θέλω δὲ ὑμᾶς ἀγνοεῖν, ὥσπερ with οὕτως, λογίζομαι γὰρ ... , οὐχ οἶον δέ ... , καθ' ἄνθρωπον (ανθρώπινον) λέγω, etc. c) Strokes of wit and play on words, as φθόνος and φόνος, ἀσύνετος and ἀσύνητος, ἄνομος and ἔννομος, ἄφρων and φρόνιμος, διὰ νόμον νόμῳ ἀπέθανον, and the like ; but especially such play on words as contains an acumen of thought, as Rom. ii. 14 (νόμος in the same proposition with different meanings), xiv. 13 (κρίνειν in

Undisputed
Epistles.

Dialectic
character.

Favorite
turns.

Play on
words.

- the same way), 1 Cor. ii. 13 (λόγοι διδακτοί in the same way), iv. 8 (βασιλεύειν in a similar way), 2 Cor. iii. 13–15 (καλύμμα in just the same way), v. 16 (κατὰ σάρκα idem), v. 21 (ἀμαρτία in a similar manner), Gal. iv. 21 (νόμος idem), et al. *d*) Oxymora, e.g. τα ἀόρατα . . . καθοράται Rom. i. 20; παρ' ἐλπίδα ἐπ' ἐλπίδι Rom. iv. 18; μωρὸς γενέσθω, ἵνα γένηται σόφος 1 Cor. iii. 18; ἐλείθερος ὢν . . . ἐμavτὸν ἐδούλωσα 1 Cor. ix. 19; ἡμεῖς οἱ ζῶντες εἰς θάνατον παραδιδόμεθα 2 Cor. iv. 11; ὡς πλάνοι καὶ ἀληθεῖς 2 Cor. vi. 8; ὡς ἀγνοοῦμενοι καὶ ἐπιγινωσκόμενοι 2 Cor. v. 9; διὰ νόμον νόμῳ ἀπέθανον Gal. ii. 19. But the sharpest oxymora are 1 Cor. i. 25: τὸ μῶρον τοῦ θεοῦ σοφότερον τῶν ἀνθρώπων, and
- Antitheses.* 2 Cor. xii. 10 ὅταν ἀσθενῶ, τότε δυνατός εἰμι. *e*) Antitheses, which often stand in connection with Paul's doctrinal idea, as σὰρξ and πνεῦμα, νόμος (ἔργα νόμου) and πίστις, γράμμα and πνεῦμα, δοῦλοι (δουλεία) and ἐλεύθεροι (ἐλευθερία), μωρία and σοφία, ἀπολλύμενοι and σωζόμενοι, et al. *f*) Paul's dialectic method of teaching brings with it various kinds of argument; we may distinguish the following principal classes: *a*) Logical proof, in the narrower sense: Rom. ii. 25–29; xi. 6, 15, 16; x. 13–15 (a regular Sorites); *β*) Arguments from analogy (arguments κατὰ συγκατάβασιν): Gal. iii. 15 and iv. 1 ff.; 1 Cor. ix. 13; xiv. 7 ff.; xv. 36 ff.; Rom. vii. 1 ff.; *γ*) Arguments from Christian experience: Gal. iii. 1–5; 1 Cor. i. 26 ff.; Rom. vii. 9–25; *δ*) Scriptural arguments: these serve sometimes as themes for the deductions to follow, as Gal. iii. 6 f., 16 f.; 1 Cor. x. 1 ff.; Rom. iv. 3 ff.; x. 13 f.; xi. 2 f.; sometimes as a confirmatory conclusion, as 1 Cor. i. 31; xv. 26, 54, 55; 2 Cor. viii. 15; x. 17; Rom. ii. 24; ix. 33. Although all the New Testament writers make use of arguments from the Old Testament, yet Paul has in this respect many a peculiarity; although he quotes the Scripture passage for the most part according to the LXX, yet here and there with regard to the original text; often pretty faithfully, yet oftener with more or less freedom, partly from memory, partly accommodated to the intention of his discourse; for the most part without any reference to the local sense and connection of the
- Oxymora.*
- Kinds of argument.*
- Paul's manner of citing O. T. passages.*

Old Testament passage cited, sometimes pressing the letter, sometimes applying Rabbinical allegory and typology. The expressions ἡ γραφή λέγει, καθὼς γέγραπται, or Μωϋσῆς (Ἡσαΐας) λέγει are with him usual formulae for citations. Often he joins various passages of Scripture together, which are then united merely by the subjective intention of the Apostle, as 2 Cor. vi. 16-18; Rom. iii. 9-18; ix. 25-29; x. 16-21, et al. Finally, it is not to be overlooked that Paul, more than any other New Testament writer, reveals in his discourses his personal experiences and relations to his readers; cf. Gal. i. 23, 24; ii. 1-10, 11 ff.; iv. 12-16; vi. 17; 1 Cor. i. 14-17; ii. 1-4; iii. 1, 2; iv. 3, 4, 6-13. 15-20; ix. 1-6, 11-23; xv. 9, 10; 2 Cor. i. 8 ff., 23, 24; ii. 1-4, 12, 13; iii. 1-6; iv. 7 f.; vi. 1-10, 11, 12; vii.; x. 1-6; xi. 5-12, 16-33; xii. 1-10, 11-21; Rom. i. 9-13, et al.

17. Linguistic Character of the Pastoral Epistles.

The linguistic character of the *Pastoral Epistles* — whatever may be thought with reference to their Pauline authorship — differs very observably from all the rest of the Pauline Epistles. Without giving here a complete catalogue of the Pauline and the un-Pauline expressions and turns, we adduce of both kinds those that are most characteristic. Pauline, or at least chiming in with the Pauline, are the following expressions and modes of speech: Χριστὸς ὁ δοὺς ἑαυτὸν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν 1 Tim. ii. 6; κοπιᾶω of the apostolic work, 1 Tim. v. 17; πλουτεῖν ἐν ἔργοις ἀγαθοῖς 1 Tim. vi. 18; ἀδιαλείπτου ἔχειν μνησίαν 2 Tim. i. 3; ἐπιποθῶ σε ἰδεῖν 2 Tim. i. 4; οὐ πνεῦμα δειλείας, ἀλλὰ δυνάμews 2 Tim. i. 7; ἐπαισχύνεσθαι τὸ μαρτύριον τοῦ κυρίου 2 Tim. i. 8; οὐ κατὰ τὰ ἔργα, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὴν πρόθεσιν 2 Tim. i. 9; ἡ χάρις ἡ δοθεῖσα ἡμῖν ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ ibid.; τὸ ἐνοικοῦν ἐν ὑμῖν πνεῦμα 2 Tim. i. 14; Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ἐκ σπέρματος Δαβὶδ 2 Tim. ii. 8; τὸ εὐαγγέλιόν μου 2 Tim. ii. 8; the antithesis συναποθνήσκειν and συζῆν 2 Tim. ii. 11; in the greeting Παῦλος ἀπόστολος διὰ θελήματος . . . , and εἰρήνη ἀπὸ θεοῦ πατρὸς κ. Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ and in the closing benediction ὁ κύριος μετὰ τοῦ πνεύματός σου. Expressions and turns, that are not Pauline, or are decidedly

Pauline expressions.

Un-Pauline
expressions

un-Pauline, occur, on the other hand, very frequently; among these only the most striking need here be brought forward: *ἐτεροδιδασκαλεῖν*, *ἡ ὑγιναίουσα διδασκαλία* and *ὑγιαίνοντες λόγοι*, the frequent *εὐσεβεία*, *ἔργον* in the sense of office or calling, *μυρτυρία* *repute*, *βαθμὸν ἑαυτῷ περιποιεῖσθαι*, the *ἐκκλησία* as *στῦλος κ.* *ἐδραίωμα τῆς ἀληθείας*, τὸ *μυστήριον τῆς εὐσεβείας*, *ἡ καλὰ διδασκαλία*, ὥτως in such expressions as *ἡ ὥτως ζωή*, *αἱ ὥτως χήραι*; *ἐπακολουθεῖν ἔργῳ ἀγαθῷ*, *ἡ κατ' εὐσεβείαν διδασκαλία*, *τηρεῖν τὴν ἐντολὴν ἁσπίλον*, *ἀποθησαυρίζειν ἑαυτῷ θεμέλιον*, *παραθήκη* faith that has been delivered over, especially the often recurring *πιστὸς ὁ λόγος*, and many others. Not less remarkable than the presence of so many un-Pauline expressions and turns is the absence of all [?] genuine Pauline forms of expression, and of the dialectic and rhetorical peculiarities of the Apostle, see § 16.

Absence of
genuine
Pauline
forms of ex-
pression.

18. Linguistic Character of Hebrews.

Purity of
the Greek.

The linguistic character of the *Epistle to the Hebrews*¹ is in another respect different from the Pauline Epistles. The Greek is in general purer and more periodical than that of most of the other New Testament authors. The style is more discursive than that of the Pauline and other Epistles. In

Lexical pe-
culiarities.

particular is to be observed a) in a *lexical* point of view: *ἀγενεαλόγητος*, *ἀγκίρα* (metaphorical), *ἀγνόημα*, *ἄθλησις*, *αἱματεκχυσία* (a ἄπ. λεγ.), *αἰσθητήριον*, *ἄκροτίτιον*, *ἀμήτωρ*, *ἀπάτωρ*, *ἀναλογίζεσθαι*, *ἀναρίθμητος*, *ἀνασταυροῦν* to crucify anew, *ἀνταγωνίζεσθαι*, *ἀπαράβατος*, *ἀπαίγισμα*, *ἄρμος*, *ἀφανισμός*, *γενεαλογεῖσθαι*, *γεωργεῖν*, *γνόφος*, *δάμαλις*, *δεκατοῦν*, *διηνεκῆς*, and *εἰς τὸ διηνεκές*, *δυσερμήνευτος*, *ἐγγνος*, *εμπαίγμος*, *εἰποῦα*, *θεατρίζειν*, *θυέλλα*, *κακουχεῖσθαι*, *καταβάλλεσθαι*, *θεμέλιον*, *κατασκόπος*, *κριτικός* (ἄπ. λεγ.), *λειτουργικός*, *λεῖψιτικός*, *μεσιτεύειν* (ἄπ. λεγ.), *μετριοπαθεῖν* (ἄπ. λεγ.), *μισθαποδοσία* and *μισθαποδότης*, *ἡ μέλλουσα οἰκουμένη*, *ὀλοθρεῖν* (yet see *ὀλοθρευτής* 1 Cor. x. 10), *ὀρκομοσία*, *παραπικραίνειν*, *παραπλησίως*, *πολυτρόπως*, *πρόδρομος*, *συγκακουχεῖσθαι*, *συνεπιμαρτυρεῖν*, *τραχηλίζεσθαι*, *τρίμηνον*, *τυμ-*

¹ Cf. Introductions to the Commentaries of Stuart, Bleek, DeWette, and Winer. — Tr.

παινίζειν, χαρακτήρ, οὐ χωρίς . . . , ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, et al. β) In Grammatical peculiarities. a grammatical point of view we observe, among others, the following: The frequent occurrence of παρά τι after comparatives, the frequent use of participles in causal connections, the frequent use of ἐπεὶ (in Paul only in the sense "since moreover") and ὅθεν. γ) As regards the rhetoric, the many Rhetorical peculiarities. argumenta a minori ad majus (εἰ . . . πόσῳ μᾶλλον . . .) and the transition with ὅσον (καθ' ὅσον) are the principal points to be noticed.

19. Linguistic Character of the Epistle of James.

The linguistic character of the *Epistle of James* may be designated as the precise opposite of that of the Pauline writings. The difference is observable already in the fact, that here little or no use is made of dialectic arguing. James convinces not so much through logical grounds as through examples. These examples are derived partly from the natural features of the Palestinian country, as i. 11; iii. 11, 12; partly from ordinary human life, as i. 23; ii. 2 f.; 15 f.; iii. 3, 4, 7; partly from biblical history, see ii. 21, 25; v. 10, 11, 17, 18. He also carries out his figures well, see i. 11, 24; ii. 2, 3; iii. 7; iv. 4, et al. A ready device with James to produce an effect on his readers is the *apostrophe*, cf. ii. 18, 19, 20, 22; iv. 4, 13 f.; v. 1-6, and the *rhetorical question*, cf. ii. 5, 6, 7; 14-16, 20; iii. 11, 12, 13; iv. 1, 4, 5. Among other grammatical peculiarities are the use of the Aorist in descriptions, as i. 11; i. 24; iv. 5; of the prophetic Perfect in the apostrophe v. 2, 3; further, of the demonstrative pronoun with epexegetis following, see i. 27 cf. iv. 1; the frequent use of δέ as a continuative particle, and of the καί consequentiae; also the omission of conditional particles in conditional propositions. The lexical peculiarities to be observed are: Rare words (in part ἄπ. λεγ.), as ἀκατάστατος, ἀποκύνω, ἀπαρχή τῶν κτισμάτων, ἄσπιλος ἀπό . . . , βρῖναι, δελεάζεσθαι, δίψυχος, ἐνάλιος, ἐπιλησμονή, εὐχή τῆς πίστεως, ἔσθης (elsewhere in the N. T. only in Luke's writings), θρήσκος, καθίσταμαι (apparently for ἔστι or ὑπάρχει), κατηφεία (parallel with πένθος), κακοπαθεία, κάμνειν to be sick, καύσων.

καταδυναστεύω, μεγαλαυχέω, ὁμοιοπαθής, παραλογίζεσθαι ἑαυτόν, προσωποληπτέιν, πολυσπλάγχχνος, ῥνπαρία in a moral sense, ῥιπίζεσθαι, σιγήβρωτος, σπιλοῦν, σπαταλάω, τρυφάω, χαλιναγωγέιν, χρυσοδακτύλιος, et al.; furthermore, peculiar meanings of words as πᾶς only, merely, δοκίμιον genuineness, πλούσιος throughout in a bad sense (as with Luke). συναγωγή Christian assembly, ἔργον business, κράζειν to cry to Heaven, etc.; such combinations as εὐπρέπεια τοῦ προσώπου, πατήρ τῶν φώτων, τροπῆς ἀποσκιάσμα, ἀπαρχή τῶν κτισμάτων, νόμος τῆς ἐλευθερίας, νόμος βασιλικός, ἀκρατῆς ἐπιλησμονῆς, χαλιναγωγέιν τὴν γλῶσσαν, θρησκεία καθαρὰ κ. ἀμιάντος, ἐν προσωποληψίαις ἔχειν τὴν πίστιν, πτωχοὶ τοῦ κόσμου, ἁμαρτίαν ἐργάζεσθαι, ἐφήμερος τροφή, ἡ πίστις συνήργει τοῖς ἔργοις, δικαιόσθαι ἐξ ἔργων, κόσμος τῆς ἀδικίας, τρόχος τῆς γενέσεως, πρᾶυτης σοφίας, πολυσπλάγχχνος κ. οἰκτίρμων, προσεύχεσθαι ἐπὶ τινα, προσεύχεσθαι with infinitive with τοῦ. Some of these expressions bear a relation to the peculiar doctrinal idea of James.

20. The Johannean Linguistic Character.

Very peculiar.

Predilection for diminutives

Peculiar expressions

The *Johannean* linguistic character — as it appears in the Gospel and in the first Epistle — is certainly a very peculiar one. The language of this writer is poor, but inward,¹ unperiphrastic and inelegant, but profound; without logical and dialectic acuteness, but full of ideal thoughts; exalted thoughts in childlike form. Descending to details we may observe: α) the predilection for diminutives, as παιδάριον, παιδία, τεκνία, ὀψάριον, πλοιάριον; β) such expressions as are chiefly and such as are exclusively limited to this author, ἀμὴν, ἀμὴν; ἀληθινός, ἄρχων τοῦ κόσμου, ἀναστῆναι (never ἐγείρεσθαι), ὁ ἀπεσταλμένος, δόξα and δοξάζειν, ἐσχάτη ἡμέρα (ᾠρα), ζωή, θάνατος (in a pregnant sense), θεᾶσθαι, θεωρεῖν, οἱ ἰδιοὶ and τὰ ἰδία (home), Ἰωάννης (of the Baptist, never with βαπτιστής), the loosely connecting καί (extremely frequent, whereas δέ is very rare), κράζειν to speak with emphasis. κρίσις and κρίνειν for the most part in an ideal sense, κόσμος (very frequent), λιθάζαν (never λιθοβολεῖν), λόγος hypotatically, μαρτυρεῖν and μαρτυρία (yet

¹ "Innig."

never *μάρτυς*), *μονογενής* used of Jesus, *ὄνομα* chiefly in such combinations as *πιστεύειν εἰς τὸ ὄνομα*, *ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι*, *ὁχλος* (never *λαός*), *παράκλητος* *advocatus*, *παροιμία* (never *παραβολή*), *πιάζειν*, *πιστεύειν* (very frequent, yet never *πίστις*), *σκοτός* and *σκοτία* tropically, *τιθέναι τὴν ψυχὴν* (never *παραδιδόναι ἑαυτόν*), *φανερῶν* (never *ἀποκαλύπτειν*), *φῶς* metaphorical and pregnant. γ) Frequent turns, as the weakened use of *ἵνα* not only after *verba jubendi et orandi*, but also after *οὗτος*, after *μείζων*, etc.; the elliptical *ἀλλ' ἵνα*, frequent continuation of the narrative through *οὖν*, especially in such turns as *ποιήσατε ἀναπνεύειν, ἀνέπνεον οὖν; συναγάγετε, συνέγαγον οὖν* and the like; frequent *Asyndeta*, frequent *casus absoluti*, etc. δ) Peculiar collocations of words, such as the following: *οὐδὲν* usually after the verb, *ἤδη* as a rule before; *λέγει* likewise preceding, especially in lively conversation; *ἀληθής* usually before the verb, *ἀληθῶς* after it. ε) Peculiar forms of expression, e.g. *ἀναβαίνειν εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν* (*πρὸς τὸν πατέρα*), *γεννηθῆναι ἄνωθεν* (*ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ*), *ἐγὼ εἰμι* (pregnant), *εἶναι ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ* (*ἐκ τῆς ἀληθείας*, *ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου*), *εἶναι ἐν τῷ πατρὶ* (*ἐν τῷ υἱῷ*), *μένειν ἐν τῷ πατρὶ* (*ἐν τῷ υἱῷ*), *ἐν τούτῳ γινώσκουμεν*, *ἔρχεσθαι εἰς τὸν κόσμον*, *ἔρχεσθαι πρὸς . . .* (pregnant), *ἔρχεται ὧρα* (*καὶ νῦν ἐστίν*), *ζωὴν ἔχειν* (*ἐν ἑαυτῷ*), *καταβαίνειν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ*, *λαλεῖν* (*ποιεῖν*) *ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ*, *μεταβαίνειν ἐκ τοῦ θανάτου . . .*, *ὁ κόσμος οὐ λαμβάνει* (*οὐ γινώσκει*), *περιπατεῖν ἐν τῷ φωτί* (*ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ*), *ποιεῖν τὴν ἀληθείαν*, *τιθέναι τὴν ψυχὴν*, et al. Most of these expressions are intimately connected with the peculiar doctrinal contents of the Johannean writings. What is most remarkable of all is the entire absence of *ἐκκλησία*, *εὐαγγέλιον*, *μετανοεῖν* and *μετάνοια*, *πειρασμός*, *προσευχή*, *σοφία*, *ὑπομονή*.

21. Linguistic Character of the Apocalypse.

The linguistic character of the *Apocalypse*¹ stands in a peculiar relation to that of the Gospel of John. On the one hand, both writings have something in common, as *ἀληθινός*,

¹ Cf. Introductions to the Commentaries of *Stuart* and *Düsterdieck*; also the works on N. T. Introduction, *Bleek*, *De Wette*, *Davidson*, *Horne*, etc. — TR.

γεμίζειν, ἐβραϊστί, ἐκκεντεῖν, θαυμάζειν διὰ τι, λίθινος, μάλινά, ὄψις (countenance, face), πιάζειν, πορφυρούς, λόγος of Christ (but followed by θεοῦ), σκηνοῦν, στάδιος, frequently recurring τηρέιν (τὸν λόγον, τὰς ἐντολάς), φοῖνιξ, φρέαρ — also the often recurring ἄρτι and διὰ τοῦτο. On the other hand, almost all the most characteristic expressions and turns of the fourth Gospel and of 1 John are wanting in the Apocalypse. Conversely the Peculiarities of the Apocalypse. Apocalyptic has a great multitude of expressions, and in part very distinctive expressions, that are wanting in the Evangelist. The following are the most important: ἄμωμος, ἀναπαύσις, ἀπαρχή, ἀποδιδόναι, ἄρνιον (never ἄμνος), ἀρχαῖος, αὐτός pleonastically after ὅς, frequently recurring ἄρχι, δειπνεῖν, διαθήκη, δύναμις (frequently), εἶκων, εἰδωολάτρης, εἴ τις . . . , ἐκ as ἦν (νικᾶν ἐκ et al.), ἐκδικεῖν, ἐκκλησία, ὀμνύειν ἐν . . . , ἀγοράζειν ἐν . . . , ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις, ἐξομολογεῖσθαι, ἐπιθυμεῖν, ἐρῆέθη, εὐαγγέλιον, εὐλογία, εὐχαριστία, ἐχθρός, ὁ θεὸς καὶ πατήρ, θεραπεία, ἰδοὺ (never ἰδε as in the Evangelist), Ἱεροουσαλήμ (never Ἱεροσόλυμα), ἰσχύειν and ἰσχύς, καί in the apodosis, κατακαίειν (never καίειν), κατεσθίειν, κατοικεῖν, κηρύσσειν, κινεῖν (never ταράσσειν), κληρονομεῖν, κλητός, κοινός, κτίζειν and κτίσις, ἐν κυρίῳ, λατρεύειν, μαρτυρεῖν to suffer death as a martyr (cf. the Gospel xxi. 19 δοξάζειν τὸν θεόν), μάρτυς (Gospel never, although μαρτυρεῖν and μαρτυρία often), μαρτύριον, με-ανοεῖν, μυστήριον, ξύλον tree, τοῦ before the Infinitive, οἰκουμένη (Gosp. only κόσμος), ὀφθῆναι (Gosp. ὀπτεσθαι), ὅσιος, ὄφελον utinam, παράδεισος, πειρασμός, πειθεῖν (Gosp. never, but κλαῖειν, θρηεῖν, λυπεῖσθαι), πίστις (Gosp. never, often as πιστεύειν occurs), πειμαίνειν (is not even found Gosp. x.), ποιεῖν manage one's affairs, προσευχή, πρόσωπον, πρωτότοκος (Gosp. never, but μονογενής), σκοτίζειν (Gosp. never, though σκοτία or σκότος occur so often), σοφία, στηρίζειν, συγκοινωνεῖν (Gosp. and 1 Ep. never, although κοινωνίαν ἔχειν occurs), σφόδρα, σφραγίς (Gosp. never, although σφραγίζειν), ὑπομονή, ὑψηλός and ὕψος, φονεὺς (Gosp. and 1 Ep. only ἀνθρωποκτόνος), ψυχή person; finally the characteristic self-designation ἐγὼ Ἰωάννης.

22. Linguistic Character of Luke's Writings.

The linguistic character of the writings of *Luke* are to be considered under two aspects, which yet cannot be rigidly distinguished. There is a distinction to be made, that is to say, between the parts of his writings where he composes freely and those where he is dependent on his Hebrew sources, as in the *evangelium infantiae*. Between these extremes lie those parts, where a mediate dependence, indeed, on such sources, but at the same time a certain literary freedom of the author is observable, as in the Gospel for the most part, and in the first part of the Acts of the Apostles. But these aside, the language of Luke's writing shows many peculiarities: α) the great multitude of ἀπαξ λεγόμενα (55 in the Gospel, 135 in Acts); from these we select the following, in the Gospel: ἀνατολή of the Messiah, ἀποστοματίζειν τινὰ περὶ . . . , ἀποψυχεῖν, ἄφαντον γίνεσθαι, αὐστηρος, ἀφυπνοῦν, βρώσιμος, διανυκτερεύειν, διαπραγματεύεσθαι, διασεῖν, ἐνδέχεται it is becoming, ἐξαστράπτειν, ἐπιλελησμένον ἐνώπιον . . . , ἰάσεις ἀποτέλλειν, ἱκμάς, ἰσαγγελος, κατὰβασις τοῦ ὄρους, κραιπάλη, λαξευτός, λῆρος, μετεωρίζεσθαι, παμπλήθει, παρέρχεσθαι ἐντολήν, πλημμύρα, πενιχρός, πράκτωρ, πορείαν ποιεῖσθαι, σάλος, σινιάζειν, σιτομέτριον, στηρίζειν τὸ πρόσωπον with an infinitive with τοῦ following, συνοδία, φοβητρόν, χάραξ, χάσμα, ψόχειν. In the Acts: ἀκροατήριον, ἀναψύξις, ἀνθυπατεύειν, ἀντοφθαλμεῖν, ἀνωτέριος, ἀπελεγμός, ἀπερίτμητος, ἀρέσκειν ἐνώπιον . . . , ἀρχιεράτικος, ἄσπον comparative of ἀγχί, ἀφελότης καρδίας, ἀχλὺς, αἱ βάσεις the legs, βρύχειν τοὺς ὀδόντας, γερονσία, διάστημα, διαχλενάζειν, δεξιολάβος, διοπετής, δωδεκάφυλον, ἐμπνέειν ἀπειλῆς, ἔνεος dumb, ἐξολοθρεύεσθαι, τὰ ἐπαναγκές, ἐπακροῦσθαι, ἐπαύλις, ἐπικουρία, εὐπορεῖσθαι, θεόμαχος, καθημερίνος, καταγγελεύς, κατασοφίζεσθαι, κοίτων cubiculo praeffectus, κτήτωρ, λακεῖν, μαγεία, μοσχοποιεῖν, μαθήτρια, νεοκόρος, ὀκνέειν, ὀροθεσία, ὀχλοποιεῖν, πανοικί, παρενοχλεῖν, παροιχημέναι γενεαί, παρατείνειν, παροτρύνειν, πεζεύειν, περικρατῆς, περίξ, προσαπειλεῖσθαι, προσεᾶν, προσκληροῦσθαι, πρόσπεινος, προσωπολήπτης, πρωτοστάτης, πυρά, σμικίνθιον, σκληροτράχηλος, σκυληκόβρωτος, σπερμολόγος, συνδρομή, συνθρύπτειν, συνομορεῖν, συνωμοσία.

Favorite
expressions
etc.
Lexical.

σφύρον, τετράδιον, τριετία, φυλακίζειν, χειράγωγος, χρονοτριβείν. β) Favorite expressions and favorite turns: in a *lexical* relation: ἀκούεσθαι εἰς τὰ ὦτα τινός, ἀτενίζειν often and in various constructions, διανοίγειν (τὰς γραφάς, τὴν καρδίαν, τὸν νοῦν also without the Accusative followed by ὅτι exegetical, Acts xvii. 3), ἐπίστατα is used regularly in the Gospel in addressing Jesus, instead of κύριε or Παββί, ἐρωτᾶν ἵνα or ὅπως, ἡ ἐχομένη sc. ἡμέρα, ἱκανός (ἱκανοὶ) considerable (not only ἀκολουθοῦντες ἱκανοί, χρόνος ἱκανός, but also κλαυθμός ἱκ. Acts xx. 37 and φῶς ἱκανόν Acts xxii. 6), λαλεῖν εἰς τὰς ἀκοὰς τοῦ λαοῦ, ὁμοθυμαδόν (often in Acts, once indeed in the bad sense: xix. 29), ὁπτασία, οὐκ ὀλιγος (-οι), παραχρήμα subito, the very frequent πορεύεσθαι (in the Gospel 50 times, in the Acts 38 times), the Hebraistic περυνόμενος for "gradually, more and more" (Gosp. viii. 14 cf. Gen. xxvi. 13; 1 Sam. xiv. 19), the graphic στραφεῖς in introducing certain addresses of Jesus to his companions. In a *grammatical* point of view are to be observed ἀνθ' ὧν for διότι (four times, not used elsewhere except in 2 Thes. ii. 10), ἀπό causal, e.g. ἀπὸ φόβου, ἀπὸ χαρᾶς, εἰς for ἐν (frequently, most clearly in Gosp. iv. 44; ix. 61; Acts viii. 40), the converse occurs only Gosp. vii. 17; εἰ = num before a direct interrogation (9 times); ἐξ αὐτῶν for τινές αὐτῶν (Gosp. xi. 49; xxi. 16; Acts ii. 30); ἦν (ἦσαν) with the Present Participle pointing out continuous action (27 times in the Gospel, and 19 times in Acts); more frequently than in the other N. T. writings, the oratio variata, e.g. a transition from the oratio directa to the oratio obliqua Gosp. v. 24 = Matt. and Mark ix. 3, or from the oratio obliqua to the oratio directa Acts i. 4; xvii. 3. Transition from the Inf. c. Accus. to ὅτι Gosp. ix. 19; from ὅπως c. Subjunc. into the Infin. Acts xxiii. 23, 24; the Accus. Partic. instead of the Genit. Acts xxvi. 2, 3; the striking attraction Acts x. 36; finally the frequent τό before whole clauses, even before a dependent interrogative clause Acts xxii. 30, etc.

Grammatical
peculiarities.

23. Linguistic Character of Mark.

The language of *Mark* has likewise many peculiarities. We

call attention α) to peculiar expressions: ἀλεκτοροφωνία, Peculiar
 ἀναλον γίνεσθαι (Matt. μωραίνεσθαι), ἀναστενάξαι, ἀφρίζειν, λέγειν expressions
 ἐν τῇ διδαχῇ, εἰς καθ' εἰς (cf. John viii. 1–11); ἐκθαμβεῖσθαι,
 ἐξάπινα, ἐπισυντρέχειν, εὐθύς (very frequent var. εὐθέως), κεντυ-
 ρίων (Matt. ἐκατοντάρχος), κωμόπολις, μεθόρια, μογίλαλος, νου-
 νεχῶς, ἀπὸ μακρόθεν, πρασιαὶ πρασιαί (ᾧ. λεγ.), προσάββατον,
 προσκεφάλαιον, προσορμίζεσθαι, πυγμῇ, σμυρνίζειν, σπεκουλάτωρ,
 στίβας, τηλανγῶς, ὑπερπερισσῶς, ὑπολήνιον, χάλκιον, ὠτάριον
 (= John), et al. β) Grammatical peculiarities: Mark has a Grammat-
 predilection for the historical Present and employs it not un- ical peculi-
 frequently promiscuously with the Imperf. or the Aorist: i. 21, arities.
 30, 37, 40 f., 43 f.; ii. 14, 15, 18 f.; iii. 3 f., 13 f., 20 f. etc.
 He is fond of graphic participles, as κύψας, ἐμβριμησάμενος,
 περιβλεψάμενος, ἐπιστραφεῖς, ἀποστενάξας, ἀναβλέψας, ἐμβλέψας,
 καθίσας, etc.; also of appositional collocations, such as εἰπόντος
 αὐτοῦ, εὐθύς . . ., διαπαντός, νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας, ἔσθωθεν ἐκ τῆς καρ-
 δίας, ὡδε ἐπ' ἐρημίας, νῦν ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τούτῳ, σήμερον ταύτῃ τῇ νυκτί,
 etc. He is fond of expressing the emotions of astonishment,
 unwillingness, and the like, by a reduplication of the questions
 and the exclamations: i. 24, 27; ii. 7, 8; iv. 39; vi. 2, 50;
 viii. 17, 18, et al. Compared with Matthew (in part also with
 Luke), his expression has often a certain breadth, see iii. 27
 coll. Matt. xii. 19; iii. 34, 35 coll. Matt. xii. 49, 50; vi. 3 coll.
 Matt. xiii. 25; vi. 8, 9 coll. Matt. x. 9, 10; vi. 15 coll. Matt. xiv.
 2; 55 coll. Matt. xiv. 34; viii. 31 coll. Matt. xvi. 21; 36 coll.
 Matt. xvi. 26; ix. 18 coll. Matt. xvii. 15, et al. Other pecu-
 liarities, as that he often cites certain names and formulae in
 the original language, that he is fond of more accurate temporal
 and local designations, and often introduces special features,
 which the other Evangelists do not have, — belong less to the
 linguistic character than to the historical representation.

24. Linguistic Character of Matthew.

Matthew has fewer peculiarities. We mention the ἅπαξ Peculiarities compar-
 λεγόμενα: ἄθως ἀπὸ . . ., ἄκμην (Interj.), βαπτολογεῖν, ἀπάγ- atively few.
 χεσθαι, ὁ δεῖνα, διστάζειν to doubt, διῦλίζειν, ἐγέρσις, ἐπιγαμβρεύ-
 ειν, ἐπίσημος insignis (in malam partem), εὐδία, εὐνουχίζειν,

καρδία τῆς γῆς, κώνωψ, οἰκετεία (Luke θεραπεία), παγιδεύειν ἐν λόγῳ, προφθάνω, στυγνάζω of the nature of heaven. To the predominating linguistic usage of Matthew belongs also the pleonastic ἄνθρωπος, e.g. ἄνθρ. βασιλεὺς, ἄνθρ. οἰκοδεσπότης; βασιλεῖα τῶν οὐρανῶν (rarely β. τοῦ θεοῦ), the formulae for citations ἐπλερώθη το ῥηθέν and ἵνα (ὅπως) πληρωθῇ; κατ' ὄνάρ, κουστοδία (5 times, not elsewhere in the New Testament), συμβούλιον λαμβάνειν (Mark συμβ. ποιεῖν), συνᾶραι λόγον, especially the frequent τότε (in Matthew 91 times, in Mark only 6 times, and in the writings of Luke 14 times), φράζειν to expound, to explain, and the like.

B. Helps to the Explanation.

a) Internal Helps.

a) The Connection.

25. Importance of attending to the Connection.

Antiquated
notions.

The notion that the Scriptures are a collection of individual oracular deliverances which retain their sense without reference to their connection, or that they are an arsenal of “sedes doctrinae,” may be regarded as antiquated, although in certain circles, and for edificatory purposes, it may still often enough be applied. Without condemning unconditionally the latter use, it must yet be said, that it merely ministers to a subjective need, and can lay claim to no sort of ecclesiastical authority. A use of Scripture which pretends to a more general value must be based upon a consideration of the connection. The neglect of this essential help to the explanation has given rise to unnumbered incorrect explanations. The causes, however, may be various. a) One of the most fruitful causes of false explanations is *dogmatic prepossession*. See Matt. vii. 16–20. This passage has been thus understood by Luther and other old Protestant exegetes in an anti-Catholic interest: The *tree* must first be good, before it can bring forth good fruit, i.e. man must through faith be regenerated before he can perform good works. But this contradicts the connection and the clear in-

Causes of
error.
Dogmatic
prepossession.
Matt. vii.
16–20.

tention of the passage. Immediately before Jesus has warned his disciples against false prophets, who appear outwardly like innocent and pious sheep, but inwardly are ravening wolves. He now gives them the *criterion* by which they may distinguish the false and the good teachers from each other, viz. their fruits, i.e. goods works, conduct corresponding to the words of Jesus. [Bengel; Porro fructus sunt *gnorismata* veritatis aut falsitatis prophetarum, adeoque etiam doctrinae a propheta propinatae. Igitur doctrina non est fructus, ex quo propheta cognoscitur: sed est forma, quae ei dat esse veri falsive prophetarum]. Here, therefore, nothing, at all is said as to what is requisite in order that men may be enabled to do good works, but as to the means *by which* false and genuine teachers may be distinguished, viz. good works; hence an inference from the external to the internal. This inference is now vs. 17, 18 *justified*, the argument being reversed, and it being shown that a corrupt tree necessarily brings forth corrupt fruit, and a good tree, good fruit. That this is the true sense and connection is clear from vs. 20, which sums up and confirms what has preceded. In the following verses (21-23) the same criterion is given for the *confessors of Jesus*, as for the prophets and teachers: Not fine words, not single works of power and great results, furnish the means of distinguishing genuine and spurious disciples of Christ, but the doing of the will of the Heavenly Father. To this thought is joined now the simile vs. 24-27, as already the language (see vs. 24 and 26), and not less the connection, shows. It could, therefore, again, only be dogmatic prepossession that could underlay the simile of the house built upon the sand and that built on a rock, with another sense; as when it is attempted, namely, to find therein the doctrine, that only the house which is built upon the rock of Christ is secure, i.e. that only he who grounds his faith (otherwise, his hope of happiness), upon nothing else than Christ, has found a firm ground of his faith and life. A glance at the connection and the intention of these words shows the conception to be an incorrect one, since in vs. 24 (coll. 26) Jesus says expressly: Whosoever heareth these words of mine (that

immediately precede), and *doeth* them, I will liken him to a wise man, etc. This shows as clear as day that not the object on which the house is built is the ground of comparison, but the subject, or the performance or non-performance of the words of Christ. He who merely hears the words of Christ and depends on the fact that he has heard them, builds his house on the sand, etc. On the false application of the parallel passage, Rom. xiv. 23, see below. Cf. further, Rom. xiv. 23. This passage has been thus understood by all old Protestant theologians: Whatever does not spring from a heart-renewing faith in Christ is far from being a good work, is rather sin. But the connection shows plainly the groundlessness of this explanation. The Apostle insists throughout this whole chapter, that the anxious ones, who still make the enjoying of certain meats a matter of conscience, shall not judge others; and those that have risen above such scruples are not to despise the anxious ones, and still less to occasion them to do anything against their conscience, since "he that doubts whether an action is allowable, and yet does it, commits sin." The *πίστις* of which mention is here made as the condition of the unsinfulness of an action is, therefore, not beatifying faith in Christ, but the special conviction of the allowableness of a particular action. See further, Matt. xvi. 17-19. This passage, as is well-known, is the locus classicus on which from the beginning the papacy has based its justification, inasmuch as Peter is here declared by Christ to be the prince of the Apostles, the foundation of the church, and judicial power in the church is delivered to him; and just as the primacy and the ecclesiastical power of the keys were delivered to Peter, so this must also hold true of his successors, the bishops of Rome. With justice have the Protestants, on the other hand, set forth the historical groundlessness of the assumption that Peter established the church in Rome, or was the first bishop thereof; with justice also it has been observed, that the power of binding and loosing, which Christ here confers upon Peter, was bestowed upon all the Apostles (xviii. 18). But the old Protestant exegetes did

Rom. xiv.
23.

Matt. xvi.
17-19.

not stop here, but sought in a dogmatico-polemic interest to explain away the obvious sense of the words, and to underlay this with the thought, that Christ founded his church not on the *person* of Peter, but only on his *faith*; as if in Jesus's words Peter's person and faith would be discriminated. But Luke vii. 47 has remained in dispute to the present day. While Luke vii. 47. in the Catholic-Protestant polemics the Catholics laid weight upon it in order to prove that the forgiveness of sins is not based upon faith alone, but on love, the Protestants strove to deprive the Catholic theology of this proof-text, by trying to show from vs. 50, that what in the *γυνή ἁματωλός* was properly faith is in vs. 47 called by Jesus "love" (Melancthon), or by trying to show from the parable of the two debtors (vs. 41, 42), that love is designated not as the cause, but as the proof (*à posteriori*), that the forgiveness of sins has been received, and therefore *δοτι* (*ἡγάπησε πολὺ*) points out the *criterion* (so Calvin). Here we must discriminate, indeed, between the dogmatic and the exegetical ground of the explanation, and we must carefully guard against the former. The exegetical argument is, on the contrary, not without weight, especially in the latter aspect. Yet it is to be borne in mind that in vs. 44-46, hence immediately preceding the disputed passage, *love* is evidently spoken of, and that, too, the lesser love of the Pharisee and the greater love of the *γυνή ἁματωλός*. There occurs, therefore, undoubtedly from vs. 41 to 47, a turning of the argument. After the Pharisee had designated the anointing woman, simply according to her earlier known mode of life, as a "sinner," Jesus takes, on the contrary, as a starting-point, the fact of her great *love*, and shows first from the parable of the two debtors, that the greater debtor has to be thankful for a greater remission of debt, and therefore loves the master more than the smaller debtor. The application of the parable to himself and the woman, viz. that the greater love of the latter is a proof of the greater forgiveness of sins, and that just for this reason she is to be regarded as no longer a sinner, but as one who has experienced a great forgiveness, he leaves to the

Pharisee, contenting himself with convincing the latter of the smallness of *his* love, and of the greatness of that of the *woman*; whence the conclusion may be easily drawn, that the Pharisee has been forgiven of little — the woman of much. From this connection then is the peculiar turn in vs. 47 also to be explained: οὐ χάριν — sc. for the sake of this great proof of her love — ἀφείωνται αἱ ἁμαρτίαι αὐτῆς αἱ πολλαί, ὅτι ἠγάπησεν πολὺ· ᾧ δὲ ὀλίγον ἀφίεται, ὀλίγον ἀγαπᾷ, i.e. *her* love, which presupposes the great forgiveness, is the *proof* of this forgiveness; but to whom little has been forgiven (because in his own opinion there was little to be forgiven) he also loves little.

Opposing
views.

The “analogia fidei.”

Over against the rejection of all dogmatic presupposition the following is now usually maintained: the Scriptures are to be explained according to the analogia fidei; but to the analogia fidei belongs before everything else the doctrine of justification through faith; therefore Scripture is to be explained according to this, and this doctrine is everywhere to be sought and found. But the “analogia fidei” is either brought to Scripture *from without*, and hence exegetically unjustifiable, or else it is the quintessence of its contents drawn *from Scripture itself*, and then the principle is perfectly correct, on the presupposition, namely, that it has really flowed from correct exegesis, and is the true quintessence. But this presupposition is untenable for the reason that such a quintessence can only be the highest *result* of exegesis, and is, therefore, to be tested always anew by this latter. It holds to reason, therefore, that exegesis must be free from *dogmatic presupposition*, and must in each particular case be guided by the *connection*.

26. Incorrect Application of Parallels.

Just as frequently is the misunderstanding of a passage occasioned by the *incorrect application of a parallel passage*. It is known, what an important exegetical help parallel passages are; but we must see to it that they are not only apparently but truly parallel, and that they are correctly applied.

Occasion of
failures.

But in this matter unnumbered failures have been made from the exegete's confining himself merely to the collocation of the

words or else to the external similarity, and disregarding the connection. We have already spoken of the false explanation of Matt. vii. 24-27, where on the basis of 1 Cor. iii. 11, 12, and 1 Pet. ii. 4 the *πέτρα* has been referred to Christ. Cf. further, Matt. v. 25, 26. This passage appears to correspond entirely with Luke xii. 58, 59. But examine the connection of the two passages: In Matthew, as is clear from v. 23, 24, placability is spoken of. After it has been said that it is only after one has become reconciled with his brother that he can offer to God an acceptable sacrifice and find a reconciled God, it is now said that one should be reconciled with his adversary while they are together on the way to the judge, lest he find a judge not deciding according to rigorous justice. But if from this undoubted sense one would draw a conclusion with reference to the passage in Luke, and explain the latter by the former, he would scarcely hit upon the true meaning. In Luke xii. 58, 59 the signs of the times, namely, have been spoken of immediately before, for the misunderstanding of which Jesus chides his hearers; since now the exhortation to reconciliation is altogether incongruous, but the *ἀντίδικος* with whom one is to seek reconciliation would be just such a sign of the time, but a sign of the time that stands in antagonism over against the contemporary generation, and with which the race must in time be reconciled, under peril of salvation. What else can be meant by this sign of the time, than the great *σημείον* Christ? The passage in Luke can, therefore, have no other meaning than, this generation, for which Christ is a *σημείον ἀντιλεγόμενον*, should seek to be reconciled with him while it is still with him on the way to the judge (to eternity), because this sign, which is mistaken for the *ἀντίδικος*, will hereafter pronounce an inexorable judgment. See further, Matt. vi. 22, 23 coll. Luke xi. 34-36. The expression *ὀφθαλμὸς πονηρὸς* and *ἅπλους* is on both sides the same. With Matthew the "single" and the "knave's eye," mean respectively purity and impurity in relation to the goods for which man strives. It has just been said, namely, that we should not lay up treasures on earth, which

Matt. v. 25,
26 coll. c.
Luke xii.
58, 59.

Matt. vi. 22,
23 coll. Luke
xi. 34-36.

may be corrupted by moth and rust, and which may excite the desire of thieves; we should rather strive after heavenly treasures that are not subject to such dangers. Now follows the expression with reference to the single and the knavish eye, which is still further confirmed by v. 24: You cannot serve God and Mammon. The ὁφθαλμὸς πονηρὸς is, therefore, the same eye, which — assuming the role of striving after heavenly treasures — yet (lustfully or enviously) squints at earthly treasures, and in this manner would serve both God and Mammon. The connection is different in Luke xi. 34 f. Here the sign-seeking generation is denounced, and the Ninevites who were converted under the preaching of Jonas are held up to it as a reproach. “But a greater than Jonas is here”; how much more ground, therefore, has this generation to be converted than had the Ninevites! “No man puts a candle under a bushel, but on a candlestick”; now follows the saying, “the light of the body is the eye,” etc. According to this connection, therefore, the ἄλγος, vs. 33, can only refer to Christ as the light of the world, and the “eye,” can only designate appreciation for Christ, the eye of faith, which may be either clear or darkened. If, therefore, in the passage in Matthew “the whole body,” which may be either “light or dark,” designates the clearness or the darkness of the moral conscience, in Luke the *religious* conscience must be pointed out, which in relation to Christ, the light of the world, may be either clear or dark. Cf. further, Matt. x. 24 with Luke vi. 40, and John xiii. 16. When it is said in Matthew: “the disciple is not above his master,” it is made clear from what precedes, where the disciples have been reminded of the persecutions that await them, that Jesus means to say, the disciple has no better fate to expect than his master. But this expression in Luke has a different connection of thought; immediately before, namely, stand the words: Can, indeed, one blind man be a leader of another? When, now, the expression, “the disciple is not above his teacher” follows, it can here mean nothing else than, “If the teacher is blind, so much the more must his disciple be

Matt. x. 24
coll. Luke
vi. 40 and
John xiii.
16.

blind ; or, in order that he may not fall with him into the pit, he must be *above* the teacher," which is incongruous. This expression has still another connection and sense in John xiii. 16 : the foot-washing has just preceded ; Jesus instructs his disciples now with reference to the meaning of this act, and says : " I have given you an example in order that you may do unto each other as I have done unto you." The words following, " the disciple is not above his master," mean, accordingly, If *I* your Lord and Master have not held it beneath my dignity to perform this menial service for you, so ought *you*, my disciples, who do not stand above me, to hesitate so much the less to do such service for one another.

It may now be said, in opposition to this rule of the accurate consideration of the connection, and of the various meanings of similar expressions in the Gospels : either we must suppose that Christ used the same expression more than once, and with such different meanings, which is improbable, or else that one Evangelist has brought the expression into an improper connection, and it is therefore useless to attach so much importance to the present connection. This method has been applied even by approved exegetes, like De Wette and Bleek, especially with regard to Luke xi. 33, 34. It can now, indeed, scarcely be unconditionally denied, either that Christ made use of an expression more than once (see, e.g. Matt. x. 39 ; xvi. 25, et al.), or that an Evangelist has here and there brought an expression into an unhistorical connection ; but in no case ought the latter to be assumed lightly and without good ground. And if such a view must be accepted, the ascertaining of this circumstance is immediately the work of the critic, not of the exegete. The latter has to explain the writing as it is ; since it is one question how the *author* himself thought with reference to the connection ; another, *whether Jesus himself* really used the given expression in this connection.

The exegete's and the critic's work discriminated.

27. Misleading Passages.

In general it occurs that a passage, *according to the mere language, seems to have a sense different from what it really*

1Cor. iii. 16,
17, and 1Cor
vi. 19.

has. See e.g. 1 Cor. iii. 16, 17. Here Christians are called *ναὸς θεοῦ* and a warning is added against the pollution of this temple. Because now in 1 Cor. vi. 19, where the bodies of believers are called a temple of the Holy Spirit, unchastity is spoken of, and the expression *φθείρειν τὸν ναὸν τοῦ θεοῦ* seems very suitable to sexual transgressions, hence it has been believed that the first passage must also have this sense. But examine the connection. Immediately before, the Apostle has spoken of the various kinds of service in the structure of the Christian church, which discourse has reference to the Corinthian division into parties. It is intimated that there are such teachers as seek to build the church of bad, destructible material. When, now, immediately thereupon the Corinthian Christians are denominated a temple of God, this expression can designate nothing else than the Christian church, and the expression *φθείρειν τὸν ναὸν τοῦ θεοῦ* nothing else than the corruption of the church through bad doctrines. Cf. besides, James i. 3 with 1 Pet. i. 7. In both places the word *δοκίμιον* occurs, and apparently in very similar connections, and it might therefore be supposed that both passages have the same meaning, since in both the proving of believers is spoken of. But if we look at the connection more carefully, we shall find yet a difference of meaning. In James i. 3 temptations are spoken of by which the readers, far from having been overcome, rather have cause for rejoicing, because temptations bring about the wholesome *ὑπομοιή*. When it is said, therefore, *τὸ δοκίμιον ἡμῶν κατεργάζεται ὑπομονήν*, *δοκίμιον* must here designate a means of confirmation, a touch-stone (see also Dionys. Hal. Rhet. 11). But if we attend more carefully to the sense and connection of 1 Pet. i. 7, we shall see that there God is thanked for the salvation which has befallen the readers, which in the last time is to come to full revelation. The words that now follow, *ἐν ᾧ ἀγαλλιᾶσθε, ὀλίγον ἄρτι εἰ δέον λυπηθέντες ἐν ποικίλοις πειρασμοῖς, ἵνα τὸ δοκίμιον ἡμῶν τῆς πίστεως πολυτιμότερον χρυσίου . . . εἵρεθῇ, ἐν ἀποκαλύψει Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ*, show clearly that *δοκίμιον* designates here not *what confirms*, but the *confirmation*.

James i. 3
and 1 Pet.
i. 7.

Substantives in *-ιον* have in general now an active, now a passive signification, e.g. ὀψόνιον vegetables, but also the place where vegetables are sold, αἰπόλιον herd of goats, but also goat-pasture. (See δοκίμιον in Herodian. II. 10, 12). See also John v. 25; this passage seems to speak of the eschatological awakening from death, a sense which seems also to be confirmed through vs. 28, 29, where this meaning is entirely beyond doubt. But observe the connection of the former passage. It is said, immediately before, that he who attends faithfully to the word of Jesus, and believes in Him who sent him, does not come into judgment, but has eternal life. Now it appears from the Johannean meaning of the word κρίσις (iii. 19, v. 22; xii. 31; xvi. 8, 11), as well as from that of ζωὴ αἰώνιος (iii. 36; vi. 54; x. 28; xii. 50; xvii. 3), that not merely something in the world to come, but already something in this world, is designated thereby. That this is applicable to our passage also is clear from the preceding words, ἔρχεται ὥρα καὶ νῦν ἐστίν. When now it is said, "The hour cometh . . . in which the dead shall hear the voice of the Son of God, and live," something to occur already in this present life must also be meant, and by the νεκροῖς the spiritually dead must be understood, as in Luke ix. 60; xv. 24, 32; Eph. ii. 1, 5. Therefore, the spiritual quickening through the awakening voice of the Son of God is meant. But is not vs. 28, 29 against this? No, but the contrary; since what is here spoken of the *corporeal* awakening from death, is introduced by the μὴ θαυμάζετε τοῦτο, referring back to the earlier, which would be altogether nugatory, if vs. 25 had said the same thing as vs. 28, 29. Rather the μὴ θαυμάζετε τοῦτο introduces a confirmation by means of a still greater. The thought is this: Marvel not that I ascribe to myself such a power of spiritual restoration to life, since that awakening at the last day and the final judgment will also be consummated by the Son of God. See further, James i. 17. The sense seems to be this: James i. 17. All good gifts come from above, and we are, therefore, to receive them thankfully from God. But this sense corresponds

by no means with the connection. Immediately before goes the warning against the deterministic view, which was wont to ascribe the yielding to opposition and temptations, that arise from within, to God; it is rather our own lust that arises in the heart and brings forth sin and its consequence, death. And now, to prove that the matter in hand is a warning against a ruinous error, and not an encouragement to thankfulness, the sentence: *πᾶσα δόσις ἀγαθὴ . . .* is introduced by a *μὴ πλανᾶσθε*. Consequently, this also must have reference to that error, and must contain the opposite truth: "Only a good gift (nothing but a good gift) comes from above," etc. Cf. *πᾶσαν χάριν ἡγήσασθε* vs. 2, which Luther already translated correctly,

Matt. vii. 8. "esteem it an idle joy . . ." See also Matt. vii. 8, where *πᾶς ὁ αἰτῶν λαμβάνει* etc. is more correctly rendered "only he who prays receives." than "every one who prays receives."

Gal. iii. 19, 20. Gal. iii. 19, 20, celebrated as a *crux interpretum*, be explained. The connection with what precedes is as follows: Paul means

to show, in general, that salvation comes from the promise, hence from grace, and not from the law. Then the objection presses upon him, *to what end* then was the law, which is a divine ordinance, given? This leads him to the relation of the law to the divine promise and grace, viz.: 1) The law is an institution rendered necessary on account of transgression, but still temporary (vs. 19); 2) The law was promulgated through mediators (sc. angels vs. 19), wherein evidently not a glorification of the law, but its *inferiority* is designed to be expressed; since the angels are here mentioned not as a revelation of God in opposition to non-revelation, but as *mediated* revelation in opposition to the immediate. Now follow the disputed words *ὁ δὲ μεσίτης ἐνὸς οὐκ ἔστιν, ὁ δὲ θεὸς εἷς ἔστιν*. These words mark evidently no progress in the thought, but contain merely an elucidation of the words . . . *ἐν χειρὶ μεσίτου*. But wherein does this elucidation consist? Here the circumstance that vs. 20 contains an antithetical parallelism comes to our aid. The antithesis rests upon *ἐνὸς οὐκ ἔστιν* and *εἷς ἔστιν*, but also upon

μεσίτης and θεός. The μεσίτης presupposes not only one, but two persons, between whom he is to mediate. The expression here is quite a general one, and designates neither the angels specially nor Moses specially. Paul means to say: The inferiority of the legal dispensation to the dispensation of grace is clear from the fact that the former rests on a mediate, but the latter on an immediate, revelation; that, therefore, presupposes merely a mediate, but this an immediate, relation between God and man.

28. Doubtful Passages.

But we may be in doubt, *whether there is any connection or not*. In the Gospels at least, this is not seldom the case; and it is not to be denied, that there are cases where no connection can be found, and where any endeavor to establish a connection would be unexegetical trifling. Cf. Luke xvi. 1, where every effort to find an internal connection between the parable of the Prodigal Son and the parable of the Unjust Steward, must be thwarted. See likewise vs. 18, where we certainly have before us an apothegm wrested from its connection; cf. Matt. v. 32, where it stands in its natural connection. Just as little are we to think of a logical connection of Luke vi. 39 with the foregoing, while this expression in Matt. xv. 14 stands precisely in its right place. Now and then an expression, figure, and the like seems to be joined merely according to the association of ideas, as Matt. xiii. 24 f., the parable of the Tares to the parable of the Sower. Perhaps, also, the word διασκορπίζω (Luke xv. 13 and xvi. 1) gave occasion to join the parable of the Prodigal Son and the parable of the Unjust Steward, so fundamentally different, to each other. But often we may be really in doubt whether there is a connection. It appears frequently, from a superficial glance, as if there were none, and yet a more profound examination establishes the fact that there is a connection. See, e.g. Luke xvi. 13: "No man can serve two masters," etc. These words are regarded by some exegetes as separated from the foregoing, while others recognize a connection. Without entering into an explanation of the para-

Luke xvi. 1.

Luke vi. 39.

Matt. xiii.

24 f.

Luke xv. 13

and xvi. 1.

Luke xvi. 13

ble of the Unjust Steward, we may make here only the following observations. To the parable of the Steward from vs. 8 to vs. 12, inclusive, three sentences are appended, of which the first is very intimately connected with the figure, while in the following there is a progress from the special to the general, so that 1) To the saying, "the children of the world are wiser than the children of the light," the direction to the disciples as to the children of the light, *how* they, as such, are to exercise prudence, is added, and 2) in vs. 10-12 to the expression, "Make for yourselves friends with the unrighteous mammon . . .," is appended the apothegm, "He that is faithful in the least things, is faithful also in much," etc. The transition from prudence to fidelity is here formed by the "making of friends with the unrighteous mammon," which is as well an act of prudence as of fidelity; of prudence, so far as it leads to the goal — to admittance into the eternal mansions; of fidelity, so far as charitableness is the true and divinely ordained administration of mammon. In fidelity with reference to these worldly and external possessions it must appear whether one will be faithful over the heavenly and inalienable possessions. And now, vs. 13: "No man can serve two masters" . . .? The connecting thought is that of fidelity, fidelity, that is to say, with reference to the ἀληθινόν or ὑμετερόν. This consists in serving the same undividedly and without thinking of what has been left behind. Here, evidently, as already in what precedes, the idea of charitableness is entirely dropped, and only the idea of fidelity is retained. It is a difficult question, whether the account of the rich man (Luke xvi. 19 ff.), stands in connection with what precedes. The answer cannot be given without an examination of the parable itself, on which see below. Here only the following: There is evidently no connection with vs. 18 ("whosoever shall put away his wife . . ."). On the other hand, it is well connected with vs. 14 and vs. 15, since vs. 16-18 are detached apothegms, as no one can deny. Jesus having spoken depreciatingly of earthly goods (vs. 1-13), the rich Pharisees turned up their

Luke xvi.
19 ff.

noses at him, the pauper, and thought: *hinc illae lacrymae!* It is very remarkable that hereupon follows on Jesus's part not immediately a denunciation of their worship of mammon, but only of their self-righteousness. Possibly the Evangelist here has not put this denunciation in the right place. But if the connection is correct, or at least was designed by the Evangelist, the matter may be thought of thus: the rich have in the world the prepossession of merit, of righteousness, and of piety; every good action in them is *more* observed and more highly appreciated than if a poor and obscure man performs it, and so it comes about that they themselves set a higher estimate on their righteousness. This now Jesus urges only against the usual over-estimate of oneself (v. 15). To this, now, vs. 19 ff., might be joined more naturally by as much as this shows, without any reference to the moral worth of the rich and the poor, how, *ceteris paribus*, a good lot will fall to the part of the poor man and a bad lot to the part of the rich man in the world to come. Only the intercalated apothegms (vs. 16–18) make this connection somewhat uncertain. Very uncertain also is the connection of Matt. vii. 6: “Bestow not what is holy upon the dogs,” Matt. vii. 6. etc. The exhortation not to judge and not to see the mote in the brother's eye precedes. What congruity now has the expression cited with this? This seems, indeed, precisely to presuppose and to demand a *κρίνειν*. If any one would regard this expression as misplaced, this could hardly be repelled as an impropriety. Yet we are to examine still more closely, whether this want of connection is not merely apparent. In fact Bengel here seems to have struck upon the right view, when he observes on this passage: *Hic occurritur alteri extremo. Extrema enim sunt: judicare non judicandos et canibus sancta dare: nimia severitas et nimia laxitas.* Not unfrequently may the connection be doubtful, when the expression under consideration shows in a parallel passage another and a more suitable connection. See e.g. Matt. xviii. 12–14 (the parable of the Lost Sheep), which is here referred to the children, while in Luke xv. 4–6 — far more suitably, apparently—

Matt. xviii.
12–14 coll.
Luke xv. 4–6

Matt. xi. 25
coll. Luke
x. 21. it is applied to sinners. Further, Matt. xi. 25 (the rendering of thanks by Jesus for the truth revealed to the *νηπίοις*), which passage stands here pretty abruptly ; or, if it stands in any sort of connection with the foregoing denunciation of the impenitent cities, still the connection is very loose, while the words in Luke x. 21 seem to be far better prepared for through what

Matt. xii. 33
coll. Matt.
vii. 16 f. precedes. So also the expression, Matt. xii. 33 (*ἡ ποιήσατε τὸ δένδρον καλὸν . .*), appears, in the apologetical discourse against the Pharisees, who had attributed his healing of a demoniac to a covenant with Beelzebub, far from being so suitable as in Matt. vii. 16 f. But we must here repeat, that the *first* question with the interpreter of the Gospels is not, whether Jesus himself spoke the words under consideration in this connection, but whether the *Evangelist* has aimed at a connection, and what. Now, with reference to the passages just cited, a connection may without difficulty be shown ; Matt. xviii. 12 f., joins the simile to the warning, not to despise the little ones, nor to give them a *σκάνδαλον*, since precisely they are in esteem with God. Matt. xi. 25 does not, to be sure, connect with the preceding as well as does Luke x. 21, yet it is difficult to overlook the fact, that as the thanksgiving is in a general way opposed to the denunciation, so the *νηπίοι* are opposed to the cities, which “are exalted to the heavens.” Matt. xii. 33, finally, forms an integral part of the apologetical discourse ; since after Jesus had up to vs. 32 made special reference to the contumelious speech of the Pharisees, his discourse is now generalized, referring, as he does, their reviling to its root, their corrupted sense, and saying : from this, to be sure, can no other than bad fruit, perverse words, proceed. What has been said may be summed up in the following principles:

The inter-
preters *first*
question.

Principles. 1) No passage is to be explained otherwise than *from its connection*. 2) If no connection is manifest, and the passage appears isolated, we must first examine carefully whether there is not such a connection after all ; but in this we are to guard against substituting a connection *unthought of* by the author. 3) Whether the connection formed is really

present, and whether it is the *right* connection, is to be ascertained only by a special examination of the conjunctions, and by a general consideration of the intention of the whole course of thought.

β) The Parallel Passages.¹

29. General View of the Subject.

The employment of parallel passages must go hand in hand with attention to the connection. The mere explanation according to the connection often fails to secure the certainty that is desired, at least in cases where the linguistic usage under consideration and the analogous thought cannot at the same time be otherwise established. Parallel passages may be such, Various kinds of parallels. either according to the mere language, or according to the subject-matter, or both at the same time. *Verbal parallels* establish points of linguistic usage. Verbal parallels. Two cases. Now various cases may here occur: α) Either the meaning of a word arrived at through the parallel passage agrees with that demanded by the connection, or not; β) Either the meaning of a word is sufficiently supported by linguistic usage, but does not suit the connection; or in general the word is rare (either in Greek generally, or at least in biblical Greek). Is a rendering otherwise sufficiently known and assured, but unsuitable to the connection? Then we are not to be content simply with the sense demanded by the connection, but we must ascertain whether this sense is corroborated by parallel passages. If so, the rare rendering may be regarded as assured. As evidence for the meaning of a word such parallel passages are often also of importance for the thought. Only we must not be satisfied, without further investigation, with what the lexicons afford. The ultra lexica sapere is incumbent upon the exegete. If an unusual rendering is under consideration, the passage must be studied with especial thoroughness. To illustrate: Wahl's *Lexicon* gives Illustrations from Wahl's Lexicon. among the definitions of ἀδελφός, *consanguineus*, and bases the

¹ Cellérier, *Manuel d'Hermeneutique Biblique*, pp. 115-117 and 205-227, very valuable, as well for the principles set forth as for the abundant examples of the application of the principles. — Tr.

rendering on Matt. xiii. 55, 56; John vii. 1; Acts i. 14. But an attentive examination of these passages makes this rendering extremely doubtful. The error comes evidently of clinging too fondly to the traditional supposition that Jesus had no brothers according to the flesh. Again, *obsequium Evangelio debitum* is adduced as a meaning of ἀκοή¹ with a reference to Gal. iii. 2, 5. The groundlessness of this rendering appears, on a closer examination of the passage, from the well-known Hellenistic usage transmitted through the LXX into the N. T., according to which ἀκοή means "tidings" (ἡ ἀκοή). Just as little will the scientific exegete rest content with Wahl's definition of κλήσις as *felicitas, ad quam spectat invitatio Dei*, since 2 Thess. i. 11, the passage cited in its support, admits at least

Example of
a proper use
of parallels.

James i. 17
coll. i. 2.

John iv. 37
coll. Heb. x.
22.

John ix. 39
coll. Rom.
xi. 33, and
John v. 9.

of still one other interpretation. On the other hand, an authentic verbal parallel may be an exceedingly welcome support for an unusual rendering, and a discovery of this kind cannot be too carefully preserved. In confirmation of what has been said we refer to James i. 17. That πᾶσα in this passage means not, as usual, "all," but rather "only," is, indeed, made exceedingly probable through the context.² We arrive at certainty only through the parallel passage i. 2. See also John iv. 37 (ὁ λόγος ἔστιν ὁ ἀληθινός). The usual meaning of ἀληθινός, *genuine*, seems to be inadmissible here.³ Ἀληθινός seems, therefore, to be here put for ἀληθής. The context can in this case also, however, only establish a probability, and this probability needs the support of at least one parallel passage. Such a passage is, in fact, Heb. x. 22 : μετ' ἀληθινῆς καρδίας . . . , where the meaning, *true*, admits of no doubt. Cf. further, John ix. 39 : εἰς κρίμα ἐγὼ εἰς τὸν κόσμον . . . ἦλθον, and now follows the exegesis : "that the

¹ *Alford*, "that preaching which proclaimed (the) faith." *Cremers*, *Bib. Theol. Lex. of the N. T. Greek*, "What is heard (said) about faith." So, *Meyer*. — Tr.

² *Jul. Müller*, *Lehre d. Sünde* i. 322 : "James does not wish to express the thought, that everything that is good comes from God, but that everything which comes from God is good." — Tr.

³ *Godet*, in loc : "... in the ordinary Johanneic sense, the word that corresponds to the essence of the thing." So also *Meyer*. *De Wette's* view is similar to that expressed in the text. — Tr.

blind may become possessed of sight and the seeing may become blind." But now *κρίμα* means *penal judgment*. Should it be sought to retain this meaning here also it would be suitable only to the second member of the final proposition. And yet, the context shows that *κρίμα* refers to the first member at least as much as to the second, and that *κρίμα* is here very probably used for *κρίσις*.¹ But can this be justified by linguistic usage? That *κρίσις* and *κρίμα* are, by way of exception, used promiscuously for $\kappa\rho\iota\sigma\iota\varsigma$ (in the LXX usually translated by *κρίμα*, by way of exception by *κρίσις*), cf. *κρίματα*, Rom. xi. 33, where it cannot possibly mean "penal judgments," but only "decisions," with *κρίσις*, John v. 29, where the word must mean "penal judgment." Cf. finally, the vexed words, John viii. 37: . . . John viii.
37. ζητεῖτε με ἀποκτείνει, ὅτι ὁ λόγος ὁ ἐμὸς οὐ χωρεῖ ἐν ὑμῖν. The usual meaning of *χωρεῖν* is *to give place*, but this is not at all suitable here. In profane Greek (with the *κοινῶς*) it means also *succedere, incrementum capere*, and so it is taken here by respectable exegetes; but not only does this sense appear too flat, and "the absence of progress on the part of the word in the hearts of the hearers" furnish no sufficient ground for the *ζητεῖτε με ἀποκτείνει*; but also the circumstance, that the meaning *succedere* occurs nowhere else at all in the New Testament, is unfavorable to its adoption here; while on the one hand the sensuous meaning, "to hold, to contain" (John ii. 6; Mark ii. 2), and a tropical meaning, *to conceive, intelligere* (Matt. xix. 11; 2 Cor. vii. 2), are assured through New Testament linguistic usage. Here now, to be sure, the exceptional circumstance occurs that *χωρεῖν* is used intransitively. We might now (with Origen and Nonnus) take the *ἐν ὑμῖν* as brachylogical for *εἰς ὑμᾶς* and translate *οὐ χωρεῖ ἐν ὑμῖν, finds not entrance into you*; but this is wholly unsupported by linguistic usage, however suitable it would be to the context. It seems best, therefore, to render the difficult expression according to the analogy of

¹ Some of the best authorities (Meyer, Golet, Cremer) regard *κρίμα* as not necessarily meaning *penal judgment*, but as a *vox media*. DeWette: "*κρίμα* = *κρίσις*." — TR.

Mark ii. 2, where, as here, *χωρεῖν* stands intransitively, *has not place in you*.

30. Hapax Legomena.

This example of an extremely rare rendering of an expression brings us to the question — how we are to deal with ἄπαξ λεγόμενοι, and indeed, first of all, with expressions which are not in themselves strictly ἄπ. λεγ. but whose meaning in the given passage is altogether singular. Here we are first to ascertain whether a rendering supported by the linguistic usage is not really admissible in the connection in question. Sometimes this only appears to be the case, and the “inadmissibility” rests only on the fact that the word taken in its usual meaning does not give the sense which the exegete expected beforehand. But if the familiar rendering really gives no tolerable sense, we have to depend entirely on the connection, yet so that we adhere as closely as possible to the analogy of an established rendering (see above). This does not, of course, apply to ἄπ. λεγ. proper. But we are to distinguish between ἄπ. λεγ. which are such merely in the *New Testament*, and ἄπ. λεγ. which are such altogether. The former, if their meaning is not clear in itself, find their parallels in other Hellenistic literature, i.e. in the LXX and other Greek translations of the Old Testament, in the Apocrypha, or in the Pseudepigraphs, in Josephus and Philo, or finally in the κοῖνοι¹ But with regard to the absolute ἄπ. λεγ. for which no parallel passages are to be found, in the nature of the case, we are to have recourse for the establishing of their meaning partly to the etymology and partly to the ancient Greek interpreters. The most noted and the most disputed example is ἐπιούσιος, Matt. vi. 11; Luke xi. 3. Cf. also πιστικός, Mark xiv. 3; John xii. 3.

31. What are Genuine Parallels?

We have seen earlier how often interpreters have allowed themselves to be led astray by apparent parallels, i.e. by similarity of an expression. The question, therefore, arises: *What,*

¹ See § 11.

The first
step.

Distinc-
tions.

then, are genuine parallel passages? In this relation different kinds and degrees are to be distinguished; (a) Cases in which the same subject is undoubtedly spoken of, even if not in the same terms. Cf. Luke xiv. 26. Here the expression *ὅς . . . οὐ μισεῖ τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ* . . . is painfully severe. Does a passage perchance occur elsewhere, in which Jesus speaks of the same matter? To be sure; cf. Matt. x. 37: "He that loveth father or mother more than me is not worthy of me." Therefore not a positive hatred is spoken of in the first passage, but only a disregarding or not loving. But can such a meaning of *μισεῖν* be sustained? Cf. Matt. vi. 24: *Οὐδεὶς δύναται δύοις κυρίοις δουλεύειν, ἢ γὰρ τὸν ἓνα μισήσει κ. τὸν ἕτερον ἀγαπήσει κ.τ.λ.* Here *μισεῖν* is simply the negation of *ἀγαπᾶν*, and so the sense in the passage first cited is: Where there is collision of obligations (cf. Matt. x. 35 sq.), it is the disciple's duty to sacrifice family ties to love to Christ. Cf. further, Matt. xix. 24: *εὐκοπώτερόν ἐστιν κάμηλον διὰ τρυπήματος ῥαφίδος εἰσελθεῖν ἢ πλούσιον εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν.* This passage has likewise given much offence by reason of its severity. However objectionable, now, it may be to allow our subjective aversion to weaken down the meaning of the words, yet must a parallel passage be welcome which explains at least that harsh expression. Such a passage is Mark x. 24: *πῶς δύσκολόν ἐστιν τοὺς πεποιοῦτας ἐπὶ χρήμασιν εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ εἰσελθεῖν.* Without doubt the words stand in Matthew in their original form, while the passage in Mark has somewhat the nature of a gloss. But however much everything that smacks of glossing is exposed to criticism, it is still often very welcome in an exegetical relation. Here we have really an explanation of the words of Jesus reaching up hard on to the Apostolic age. Yet we must in such cases guard against defacing the brusque originality of Christ's words. We sometimes meet with an expression not offensive, but only unintelligible, cf. 1 Pet. ii. 5. Here the readers are exhorted, *ἀνενέγκαι πνευματικὰς θυσίας εὐπροσδέκτους θεῷ*. . . . There may be an uncertainty as to what is meant by *πνευμ. θυσ.* Now a parallel passage presents itself, which con-

Genuine parallels.
Passages parallel in matter.

1 Luke xix. 26 eo'. Matt. x. 37 and vi. 24.

Matt. xix. 24 coll.
Mark x. 24.

Unintelligible expressions.
1 Pet. ii. 5.

tains not, indeed, precisely the same expression, but the same thought, viz. Rom. xii. 1, where believers are exhorted *παρ-
στήσαι τὰ σώματα . . . θυσίαν ζῶσαν ἁγίαν εὐάρεστον τῷ θεῷ*. From this simple passage it is evident that *πνευματικαὶ θυσίαι* (the *θυσία ζῶσα*) means nothing else than the devotion of the body to God. Do we desire to learn still more precisely what the Apostle means by *παρ-σῆσαι τὰ σώματα*? Rom. vi. 19 informs us: "As ye have yielded your members servants to uncleanness and to iniquity . . . even so now yield your members (*παραστήσατε τὰ μέλη ὑμῶν*) servants to righteousness," i.e. just as you in your old life used your members as organs of sin, so now in your new life let your members serve as organs of righteousness. β) Parallel passages which are such as well according to the expression as according to the sense, but which stand in the one place either without connection or in a connection different from that of the other. Cf. Matt. vii. 13, 14: "Enter ye in at the straight gate . . ." These words, which stand in Matthew without connection, have in Luke xiii. 23, 24 an excellent connection: to the question, *εἰ ὀλίγοι οἱ σωζόμενοι*, Jesus answers, *ἀγωνίζεσθε εἰσελθεῖν . . .*, i.e. instead of troubling yourselves with the idle question whether many or few shall be saved, *strive* rather, that you may belong to the few, etc. Cf. further, Matt. vii. 7-11: "Ask and it shall be given to you." This passage also stands isolated in Matthew; and although it is clear in itself, so far as the language is concerned, yet it receives in Luke xi. 9-13, through the connection, its excellent elucidation; trusting in God as the hearer of prayer is spoken of, and — by dint of an argument *a minori ad majus* — by the example of a lazy friend, who yet may be aroused through persistent entreaty, it is shown that so much more promptly will *God* hear those that pray, and through the example of fathers who are *ποτεροί* and yet can give good gifts to their children, it is shown that so much more the *good* Father in heaven will give good gifts to his own, if they ask him for them. The parable of the Talents has in Matt. xxv. 14 ff. only the general meaning, that if the master should re-

Parallel
passages
standing in
different
connections

Matt. vii.
13, 14 coll.
Luke xiii.
23, 24.

Matt. vii.
7-11 coll.
Luke xi.
9-13.

Matt. xxv.
14 coll. Luke
xix. 11 ff

turn and demand a reckoning the truth would come to light; but in Luke xix. 11 ff., a more definite motive is apparent, viz. the expectation of the crowd, which accompanied Jesus on his journey to Jerusalem, that very soon the glory of the kingdom of heaven was to be revealed. To this carnal expectation the Lord opposes in the parable the doctrine that the kingdom of God consists not in reward and luxury, but in fidelity in little things. γ) Frequently it is entirely beyond doubt

Parallel passages dissimilarly occasioned.

that two expressions are parallel, yet they stand in different connections, and are dissimilarly occasioned (cf. above, § 26).

We add to the examples there adduced still the following: Matt. vii. 21 f. coll. Luke xiii. 25-28. In both places the pretensions of those that rely on certain points of pre-eminence, and that think themselves entitled through these to participation in the kingdom of God, are rebuffed; in Matthew these prerogatives are great deeds and results in God's kingdom, in Luke personal acquaintance and communion with Jesus. In both places it is shown, that such points of pre-eminence do not insure entrance into the kingdom of God. So also Matt. xiii. 16, 17 coll. Luke x. 23, 24. According to Matthew, Jesus has replied to the question of the disciples, why he spoke to the people in parables: "To you it is given to understand the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven, but to them it is not given . . ."

Matt. vii. 21 f. coll. Luke xiii. 25-28.

Matt. xiii. 16, 17 coll. Luke x. 23, 24.

Now the circle of view widens, and Jesus proceeds: (Not only are you blessed beyond the blind and dumb ὄχλος, but even beyond the saints of the old covenant, since) "many prophets and righteous men have desired to see those things which ye see," etc. Luke gives the same expression in a different but just as suitable a connection: The seventy having returned from their mission, and having spoken of its great results, Jesus replies that they ought not to rejoice over their results, but rather that their names are written in heaven. Then, however, he thanks his Father that he has revealed the mysteries of the kingdom not to the wise and prudent, but to *νηπίοις* — even to those simple-minded disciples. To this now is closely joined the benediction to the seventy disciples:

"Blessed are your eyes," etc. Thus we see: genuine parallel passages are *not* such as are similar in language, but not in sense, or are identical in expression, but different in purpose. Genuine parallel passages are *rather* such as 1) are identical, if not verbally yet in subject-matter and in purpose; but particularly, such as 2) are the same in language and in thought, but of which the one is *more intelligible* than the other, and such as 3) exhibit in a good and appropriate connection an expression standing without connection or in an unsuitable connection. Such genuine parallel passages are, with the connection, an important aid to interpretation.

32. Old Testament Citations in the New Testament.

But there is still a whole class of parallel passages to be considered, viz. *Old Testament citations in the New Testament*.¹

It was formerly believed, the view being supported by the doctrine of the absolute inspiration and infallibility of the Scriptures, that the Old Testament passages have really the meaning which the New Testament writers attribute to them; but this sense could be brought out only by violence, and by disregarding the most firmly established exegetical principles. This prejudice is now, to be sure, in our time, a vanquished standpoint; yet there are not wanting in recent times, interpreters who will not openly and freely take the position that the New Testament writers cite usually without any reference to the local sense and connection, often under the employment of allegorizing and typologizing, with arbitrary pressing of the words. But here also it holds good that an "orthodoxy" (Glaubigkeit) is good for nothing, that is in conflict with a better knowledge and conscience. The use made of the Old Testament in the New is, now, very manifold; from the literal application to the most daring allegorizing, from an employment excellent on the whole to the greatest arbitrariness. Every individual citation, therefore, requires an especial examination. First of all, we are to ascertain whether the passage in hand is a real citation or a mere allusion; next, we

What are genuine parallel passages?

The old view.

Modern view.

The use of the O. T. in the N. T. manifold.

Important distinctions

¹ Cf. *Weiss*, *Bib. Theol.*, pp. 270-274. — Tr.

are to distinguish between a citation from memory merely, and one in which the Old Testament passage was before the writer's eyes. But especially is the citation to be compared with the Old Testament passage itself, and it is to be ascertained, 1) Whether, as is usually the case, the citation is from the LXX, or is based on the Hebrew text, and 2) How the sense of the passage in the New Testament is related to that in the Old.

If we begin with the last, there are 1) *well-applied* citations. Cf. Matt. iii. 3 and parallel passages, where John the Baptist refers the words Isa. xl. 3 to himself. The connection of the passage in Isaiah shows that there the approaching liberation and return from exile is proclaimed; the people are about to return gloriously, Jehovah their liberator and king at their head; a herald, according to the oriental custom, goes before, and commands that the way be prepared and all obstacles removed. This connection and local meaning is, of course, entirely disregarded in the New Testament passage; besides, in the Hebrew קָל קִרָּא is probably to be joined not with קָל קִרָּא, but with the following פָּנֵי. But the LXX and other Greek translators, as Symmachus, connect ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ with βωδόντος, as in the New Testament passage. If we inquire now concerning the application, it is clear that the "preparing of the way," which in the passage in Isaiah has its *literal* meaning is here transferred to the spiritual. But the transference is very appropriate, the point of comparison being the preparatory and preliminary work to be accomplished here, namely, through John's preaching of repentance, which is to prepare for the coming Redeemer an entrance into the hearts of men. Another passage in point is Luke iv. 18-21 coll. Isa. lxi. 1, 2. This passage is very important from the fact that it is made by Jesus a text for the discourse that follows, and his own coming is regarded as the precise fulfilment of that expression. Deutero-Isaiah¹ declares that he has been inspired by the

Each citation to be compared with the O. T. passage.

Well-applied citations.

Matt. iii. 3. coll. Isa. xl. 3.

Luke iv. 18-21 coll. Isa. lxi. 1, 2.

¹ It is now the prevailing opinion among scholars, based chiefly upon internal grounds, that the latter part of Isaiah (from chap. xl. to the end) was written not by Isaiah, but by a "great unknown" (Ewald) during the Exile. In favor of this view are such writers as Ewald, Bleek, et al.; per contra, see Smith's Dict. of the Bible, Art. "Isaiah." — Tr.

Spirit of the Lord to bring joyful tidings to the poor, to heal the broken-hearted, etc. This word of assurance to the Israelites in captivity and languishing in wretchedness, Jesus now applies to himself and to his hearers. They, indeed, are not in captivity, not in the dark dungeon, and are not to expect an emancipation in the politico-theocratical sense; neither is the word of Jesus, any more than the similar expression in Luke vii. 22, to be limited to the individual acts of healing performed by Jesus, but it has a broader import as the words *πρωχοὶ εὐαγγελίζονται* and *ἐνιαυτὸς κυρίου δεκτὸς* show. And if the prophet felt himself impelled by the Spirit of God to such a proclamation, in a still fuller sense Jesus himself felt impelled to announce redemption from a Babylon of sin, and a time of salvation. The citation from 1 Kings xix. 10, 18 in Rom. xi. 2-4 is, also very appropriate. In the section chs. ix.-xi. Paul inquires into the extent to which the Israelites are excluded from salvation in Christ, and having shown from Old Testament types that salvation is purely a matter of grace, but that Israel, through its offence at salvation bestowed of grace, has itself deserved exclusion, he comes now to the principal question, Whether God has really, as apparently, cast Israel away. This he denies, and adduces in support of his position an analogous case in the history of Elijah: Just as Elijah, when he fled from Ahab and Jezabel, believed that the people had fallen away from the true God, but through the divine oracle received the answer, I have yet reserved unto myself a kernel of seven thousand men, who have not bowed the knee to Baal, — so is it also now; now also the whole people seems unbelieving and shut out from the salvation in Christ, but now also there exists a holy kernel of faithful ones. Now it is, indeed, undeniable that the historical sense in the two passages is not the same; in the Old Testament passage the reference is to the falling away from the true God into idolatry, in the passage in Romans, on the other hand, it is to the rejection of the Gospel; there it is fidelity to the old God, here it is faith in the new salvation. Of this the Apostle takes no account at all, but confines him-

Rom. xi.
2-4 coll.
1 Kings xix.
10, 18.

self simply to what is in fact the principal thing: that among the mass estranged from God, there is left a holy and faithful kernel. Thus regarded the citation is exceedingly appropriate. But there are 2) Citations which *seem unsuitable and arbitrary, but which as regards the thought are entirely just*. Cf. Matt. xxii. 31, 32 and parall.: The Sadducees seek to confound Jesus by an insidious question, designed to reduce belief in the resurrection *ad absurdum*. Jesus in his rejoinder reproaches them with their ignorance of Scripture, and cites as a proof-text Ex. iii. 6: "I am the God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob"; a passage apparently very far from the question, while other Old Testament texts, as Isa. xxvi. 19; Ezek. xxxvii., would have been far more obviously appropriate. How, now, are these words applied as proof of the resurrection? On this matter the words that follow throw light: "God is not a God of the dead, but of the living," i.e. when God calls himself the God of the patriarchs, he presupposes that he continues in union with them. But he can be in union only with those who exist and live. The nerve of the thought is the indissolubility of union with God. We find this fundamental thought added in Luke xx. 38: "For all live unto him." But we see also that it is not meant to prove here the resurrection of the body, but that rather all too carnal conceptions of the future life are excluded (cf. vs. 30). What Jesus would prove from the passage in Exodus is, rather, the persistent life of those whose God he has been. Cf. further, Matt. xiii. 14, 15. Jesus having set forth the parable of the Sower, his disciples ask him why he speaks to the people in parables. He answers: "To you it is given to understand the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven, but to them it is not given, because seeing they see not, and hearing they hear not," etc. Cf. Isa. vi. 9, 10: "Ye will hear indeed, but perceive not, for the heart of this people has become fat (unsusceptible), etc. The sense of these words from Isaiah seems far less suitable here than in John xii. 40 and Acts xxviii. 26, 27; since here the people have given as yet no evidence at all of insusceptibility and unbelief. Besides, even if

Citations
seemingly
unsuitable,
but really
just.

Matt. xxii.
31, 32 coll.
Ex. iii. 6.

Matt. xiii.
14, 15 coll.
Isa. vi. 9, 10.

this were the case. the circumstance mentioned seems to be no ground for the words in the parable. Moreover, even his disciples failed to understand that parable, cf. vs. 18 and Mark iv. 10, 13. In order to understand the saying of Jesus we must make the passage in Isaiah on which it is based our starting-point. Isaiah after having received his consecration as prophet is sent forth to the people; but instead of his prophesying's finding receptive ears, eyes, and hearts, the result is the opposite; nay, this miscarriage is the effect of his preaching itself, only greater blindness and greater obduracy! How so? The word of God cannot be treated with mere indifference, it cannot remain ineffectual, but it either enlightens and awakens or else it blinds and hardens. This is the tragic appeal of the prophet to the blind and stupid people. What now in Isaiah's time was the fate of the prophet and that of the people, this is, *in general*, the fate of the Messiah, that he must preach to deaf ears, yea that his preaching *makes* the people's ears deafer than before; and this is the fate of the people, that as their fathers were hardened through the preaching of Isaiah, now also, only still more, they are hardened through the preaching of Jesus, and so the word of Isaiah must be fulfilled in the late posterity. This result is so much the more surely brought about through the veiled parabolical sayings; since he who *thinks* that he understands and understands not, is by so much the blinder and more stupid. But was it really Jesus's purpose, that the people should be indurated; and was parabolical language the means to the accomplishment of this purpose (cf. Mark iv. 12; Luke viii. 10: *ὅνα βλέποντες μὴ βλέπωσι*)? Here we must observe the biblical teleology, by virtue of which the result is represented as designed so far as it really lies in the ordering of God that evil be punished by evil, stupidity by stupidity; nay, that what should have been a means of salvation, must serve as a means of destruction. Cf. further, Rom. i. 17 with Hab. ii. 4. Paul has said in the prologue, that he has long desired to preach the gospel to believers in Rome also, forasmuch as it is a power of God for Jews as well as for Gentiles, and this is grounded

on the fact that in the gospel is revealed the righteousness proceeding from God (*θεοῦ* Genit. auctoris, cf. iii. 25, 26), i.e. that in the gospel it is shown how God would stand to men not in the relation of anger, but in the relation of righteousness or justice (*δικαιοσύνη* in opposition to *ὀργή*, cf. vs. 18); and this proposition is now fortified by the passage from Habakkuk. Now, to be sure, in this passage something altogether different from the Pauline justification through faith is meant. The connection there is as follows: After a bitter lamentation over the Chaldaean oppression, the prophet ascends the watch-tower in order to receive the answer of Jehovah. The answer comes, and is to be written down, since the fulfilment must still be waited for; it attests, on the one hand, the truth of the lamentation, i.e. the arrogance of the Chaldeans, but exhorts, on the other hand, to steadfast endurance: "Behold, his soul (i.e. the soul of the Chaldaean), which is lifted up, is not upright in him; but the just shall live through his faithfulness;" since finally — and he who faithfully perseveres shall live to see it — the deserved punishment shall fall upon the Chaldeans. Persevering trust in Jehovah, in whom is life, is therefore meant. But Paul speaks of the *πίστις* as trust in the salvation revealed in Christ. With the prophet, therefore, the trust relates to salvation from the theocratic distress to be expected only in the far future; with Paul, to the salvation already completed in the present, from the condition of sin and wrath, in which the whole human race is found. A further question is, whether Paul also connected *ἐκ πίστεως* with *ζήσεται*. The LXX, according to whom he cites, have *ὁ δίκαιος ἐκ πίστεώς μου ζήσεται*, because they probably read *אֲנִי־יְהוָה* instead of *אֲנִי־יְהוָה*. But of this Paul has taken no account; either, it may be, because he had no *μου* in his manuscript, or because he cited merely from memory. But there can be no doubt but that the LXX connected the *ἐκ πίστεώς (μου)* likewise with *ζήσεται*. But whether Paul also thus connected it is not certain, and can be ascertained only from the connection. But this makes it more probable that the Apostle meant to say: He that is jus-

tified by faith shall live, than: The just shall live by faith; since the question is not so much, whence life is to come to the just man as whence *righteousness* is to come, or on what kind of *δικαίος* life is promised in the gospel. But however different may be the situation and the local sense of the passage in the prophet and the passage in Paul, they yet agree not merely in language, but also in the fact, that they speak of the deliverance from a condition of evil and disgrace, and of trust as a condition of this deliverance; since the theocratic deliverance appears everywhere as a type of the Christian salvation, and the trust in the (future) theocratic salvation, as faith in the salvation in Christ, is a steadfast striving after the ideal state of happiness revealed by God.

33. Citations that treat the Old Testament arbitrarily.

But far more numerous are those citations which treat the Old Testament text arbitrarily, and in which either no relationship, or only a very remote one, can be found between the thought of the New Testament writer and that of the original passage. We distinguish citations in which the agreement is only apparent and rests on the mere language; citations in which agreement is attained only by the pressing of a single word contrary to the sense; and, finally, citations in which the Old Testament passage could be drawn to the present thought only through the application of an unlimited allegorizing and typologizing. a) Citations, in which the agreement *rests upon the mere language*. One of the most familiar, but also most disputed examples is Matt. i. 23 coll. Isa. vii. 14.¹ This Evangelist, who is in general more careful than any other to find in individual circumstances of the history of Jesus the fulfilment of Old Testament words, sees fulfilled in the birth from the virgin the prophetic utterance: The maiden (young woman, מַלְאָכָה) shall conceive and shall bear a son and shall call his name "God with us." The connection in Isaiah is as follows:

Three
classes.

Citations in
which the
agreement
is merely
verbal.

Matt. i. 23.
coll. Isa. vii.
14.

¹ See Fairbairn, *Hermeneutical Manual*, 456; *Plumptre*, *Biblical Studies*, 45-52; *Meyer*, *Comm.*, in loco, *Matthew*; *Smith's Dict. of the Bible* (*Am. ed.*), Art. "Immanuel." — *Tr.*

In view of the danger threatening from Syria, Ahaz receives the promise that the plan of the hostile power shall be frustrated; he is now invited to ask for the confirmation of the promise a sign, and Ahaz declining this receives the reply: Jehovah himself shall give you a sign; the **נִלְמָה** shall conceive, etc. Now **נִלְמָה** by no means always means a virgin (*παρθενος*) but also "young woman," for the most part, it is true, an unmarried person, but not *virgo illibata* for which the Hebrew has the word **נָחֵמָה**; **נִלְמָה** corresponds rather to the Greek *νεανίς*, as, indeed, Aquila, Theodotion, and Symmachus so translate the word. But even if **נִלְמָה** could be shown to mean *παρθενος*, it is clear from the connection that the passage is not at all Messianic; since the birth of the Immanuel is to be only a sign of deliverance in the immediate future. This is the simple exegetical relation of the matter, which no apologetical elaboration can change. Cf. also Matt. ii. 15 coll. Hos. xi. 1. Matthew, the only Evangelist who recounts the legend of the flight of the infant Jesus to Egypt, sees in his return the fulfilment of the passage referred to in Hosea. But that in this passage by **בן** is meant not the Messiah at all, but the people Israel, must be clear even to the simplest reader. Hosea speaks of the love wherewith Jehovah has drawn the people to himself, in that he has called it out of Egypt. It is, therefore, only the words *υἱός μου* that could have occasioned the Evangelist to refer the passage in Hosea to Jesus. But would one still bring out and maintain the unifying idea that the true Israel has appeared in Christ, it may be replied, that Israel as the son of God and its calling out of Egypt is mentioned only with a view to show forth its unfaithfulness and unthankfulness towards God, which certainly finds not the shadow of an application in the infant Jesus. Cf. further, Rom. ix. 15 coll. Ex. xxxiii. 15 (*LXX ἐλέησω ὃν ἂν ἐλεῶ, καὶ οὐκ ἐκτερίψω ὃν ἂν οὐκ ἐκτερίψω*). These words are cited by Paul in confirmation of his assertion that God always proceeds freely in the bestowal of his grace. The emphasis lies, therefore, with him on *ὃν*, and the sense is: I have mercy *only* on whom I will have mercy.

Matt. ii. 15
coll. Hos.
xi. 1.

Rom. ix. 15
coll. Ex.
xxxiii. 15.

But the original passage has quite a different sense: Moses has besought God to show him his face in order that he may know that God is gracious to him. Jehovah answers him: No mortal, indeed, can behold his face; but to him, Moses, he will reveal himself, since "to whom I am gracious, to him I am gracious," etc. The emphasis here lies evidently not on the object, but on the predicates ἐλεήσω and οἰκτιρήσω and the sense is: "To whom I am merciful I am very merciful." β)

Citations
in which
single
words are
pressed.

Gal. iii. 16
coll. Gen.
xxii. 18.

Citations, in which *a single word* of the Old Testament passage is *so pressed*, as to be made to subserve the end in view. In Gal. iii. 16 Paul urges the sing. σπέρμα (זרע) in Gen. xxii. 18, in order to prove that the word σπέρμα cannot point to many but to one, viz. to Christ. But σπέρμα, as is well-known, is a collective, and even if it *may* refer to one, it can never do so in opposition to many, and the singular as such can never have this argumentative weight. If it should be said that the σπέρμα, the posterity of Abraham, has reached its culmination in the one Christ, this is a dogmatic reflection *on* the word of Genesis, and not the sense of the passage itself. A similar urging of a single expression in a sense far remote from that of the original passage, is found in Heb. xii. 26, 27 coll. Hag. ii. 6 f. The author of the Epistle to the Hebrews presses the ἅπαξ to imply only once, and thenceforth no more, God permitted a changing of things in order that the rest may remain. He means to show, that is to say, that the New Testament kingdom of God has an immovable stability, and that we should be so much the more careful not to sin against it through unbelief. But Haggai speaks of something quite different; the Lord declares, namely, to Zerubabel and to the high-priest Joshua, who were grieved at the smallness of the new temple; after a little while (אֲחֵרֶי אֵלֶּיךָ אֶבְרָא) he will cause a general shaking of the world, as a result of which the foreign peoples shall do homage to the God of Israel, and shall offer to the temple their treasures, which properly belong to him. The ἔτι ἅπαξ is, therefore, an incorrect translation of the Hebrew expression, and this translation has been used by the

Heb. xii. 26,
27 coll. Hag.
ii. 6 f.

author of the Epistle to the Hebrews for his own object. γ) Citations in which the allegory or the type is used.
 Citations in which an unlimited use is made of the *allegory* and the *type*. Cf. 1 Cor. x. 4 coll. Ex. xvii. 6.¹ Paul applies the circumstance that the Israelites on their journey through the wilderness drank water from the rock allegorically to the *spiritual* drinking of the people, and the rock to the spiritual rock Christ, who accompanied them on the journey, — a strange idea which has not the slightest ground in the Old Testament account, but finds its analogue in the Chaldaean paraphrast Onkelos (on Ex. l.c.), and against whose Rabbinic origin Meyer should not have expressed himself with so much aversion. A piece of exegetically weak argument and arbitrary allegorizing, just as much appealed to at least, and observed already by Luther and Calvin, is Gal. iv. 22 ff.² coll. Gen. xxi. 2 ff. Paul applies the fact that Abraham had two sons, the one born of a free woman, the other of a slave, allegorically to the two covenants, of which the one is the legal covenant, concluded on Mount Sinai, the other the covenant of liberty and of the heavenly Jerusalem. Here not only is the application of Hagar to Mount Sinai and the connecting of the latter with the earthly Jerusalem entirely arbitrary, but also the referring of Hagar to the legal covenant, while not Hagar at all, but Sarah, is the mother of the people of the law. Paul's fundamental thought, it is true, lies in the opposition between the servitude under the law and the freedom of the state of adoption, vs. 23. But this thought, true in itself, is here based upon an unexegetical allegorizing and typologizing, an argument convincing for the Apostle, and perhaps for his first readers, but for us proving nothing at all. Another example is 1 Cor. ix. 9 coll. Deut. xxv. 4. There is not the least doubt but that the direction in Deuteronomy, "thou shalt not muzzle the ox when he treadeth out the corn," was given with a view to promoting humanity towards the beasts. And who at the present day would regard this thought as unworthy of the

1 Cor. x. 4
coll. Ex.
xvii. 6.

Gal. iv. 22
coll. Gen.
xxi. 2 ff.

1 Cor. ix. 9
coll. Deut.
xxv. 4.

¹ Cf. Weiss, Lehrbuch d. Bibl. Theol. d. N. T., 270. — Tr.

² Cf. the Commentaries of Meyer and Lightfoot in loco. — Tr.

Bible? Not so Paul; he holds it unworthy of God and of the Scriptures that he should have given a command relating to oxen, and applies the passage to laborers in the kingdom of God. But this explanation also has its origin and finds its analogy in the Jewish theology. Thus Philo says (*De Sacrif.* p. 251): οὐ γὰρ ἐπὲρ τῶν ἀλόγων ὁ νόμος, ἀλλ' ἐπὲρ τῶν νοῦν καὶ λόγον ἔχόντων. These are all human elements that cleaved to the New Testament writers as sons of their time and of their people, and to close the eyes against which, or to deny which, is only a matter of weak faith and of perverted conscience.

Reflection
on the facts.

34. The Allegory and the Type.

The estimation of the Old Testament passages parallel to the New Testament, require of course an examination of each individual citation, but also an insight into the ground and the nature of the allegory and the type in general. However much arbitrariness and trifling have thus crept in, still it is not to be denied that a feeling of truth lies at the bottom of the employment of the allegory and the type.¹ This truth lies in the embodiment of the idea, which is at first veiled and, as it were, in the bud, but then comes to the light unveiled and in full bloom. This incarnation of the idea the allegory and the type have in common; they differ in this, that the allegory is a conscious idea, and therefore distinguishes the picture from the thing, whereas the type is the idea unconsciously embodied in a person or fact; that in the latter the distinction of time comes into consideration, which is not necessarily the case with the former. But how are we to distinguish true and legitimate allegorizing and typologizing from the false or arbitrary? Here we must lay down a general principle, and this can be no other than that which we have laid down for distinguishing true from false parallels: *genuine* allegories are such only as fall under the category of parallels in *subject-matter*, i.e. which show a *unity of idea* between the *res significans* and the *res significata*. When Abraham is designated as a type of the

A feeling of
truth at the
bottom of
the allegory
and the
type.

Allegory
and type
disting-
uished.

Legitimate
and arbi-
trary.

Genuine
allegories.

¹ On this subject, cf. *Fairbairn*, *Typology*, *passim*.—Tr.

Christian believer, the prophets as types of Christ, — when the calling of Abraham is represented as a prefiguration of the divine calling in general, the deliverance from Egypt as a picture of redemption through Christ, the taking possession of the land of Canaan as a type of entrance into eternal rest; when circumcision is represented as a symbol of purification of the heart (Deut. x. 16; xxx. 6; Jer. iv. 4; Phil. iii. 3), the high-priesthood as a prefiguration of Christ's redeeming work, and the Levitical sacrifice as a prefiguration of his atoning death; these are true types and prefigurations. We must also in this matter draw a clear line between prophecy and typology: Prophecy and typology distinguished. Not prophecy, but a type of Christ is the suffering servant of God (Isa. liii.); not prophecy, but a type of John the Baptist is the voice of the crying one in Isa. xl. 3, etc. All those pre-Spurious allegory.figurations, on the other hand, are spurious and arbitrary, resting on no unity of the idea, which only through the mere language suggest the subject-matter, or have merely an external resemblance to the matter itself. The employment of a type may also be unsuitable, if in a matter which is in a certain respect really prefigurative, a feature is brought forward which is not, as, e.g. in Noah's Ark, the water of the deluge as a prefiguration of baptism (1 Pet. iii. 19), in the water from the rock, the rock itself (1 Cor. x. 4), and in the two wives of Abraham, Hagar as a type of the covenant of the law (Gal. iv. 24, 25). The true guide in judging of a proper or an arbitrary citation is the *connection alike of the citing and the cited author*. The connection the true guide. Whether in general a parallel passage is a *real* parallel passage can only be *ascertained from the connection on both sides*.

35. Cases of Extraordinary Difficulty.

These two elements, the connection and the parallel passages, are the most important aids to the explanation. But how if *either* the linguistic usage to be established by means of the parallels is not constant and the connection not clear, *or* if, indeed, each in itself is clear and indubitable, but the two are mutually contradictory? These are the difficult cases, where

Cases in
which lan-
guage and
connection
are obscure.
Rom. v. 7.

the dissensions of the exegetes is great, and the result a non liquet. Hermeneutics would show its impotence if it were unable to give, at least, some assistance in these difficult cases. Let us consider a) cases in which neither the linguistic usage is certain nor the connection clear. Cf. first of all the vexed passage, Rom. v. 7: *μόλις γὰρ ὑπὲρ δικαίου τις ἀποθανεῖται, ὑπὲρ γὰρ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ τάχα τις τολμᾷ καὶ ἀποθανεῖν*. Here not only the connection with the foregoing is difficult, but also the relation of the two members of the verse to each other, inasmuch as they seem to stand in a contrast; but in this case we should expect not *γὰρ* but *δέ*, and moreover an antithesis of *δίκαιος* and *ἀγαθός* is something altogether unusual. Let us seek first of all to clear up the connection. It has just been said, that Christ died for the godless, and in what follows the love of God is spoken of (vs. 8), which was shown in the death of Christ for us sinners. The intervening verse (vs. 7) must also express the thought, that dying for the godless is something altogether extraordinary. If now we examine vs. 7, we shall see that it is introduced by *γὰρ* as a reason for the preceding thought, and the reason indeed consists, first of all, in the fact that a man not only will not die for a godless person, but scarcely even for a *δίκαιος* (*ἀποθανεῖται*, future of ethical possibility). The second member is introduced by *γὰρ* as a reason for the first, but contains at the same time, as it seems, an antithesis to it, which must lie in *ἀγαθοῦ* (coll. *δικαίου*). Now an antithesis may of course be treated as a reason (namely, as *argumentum e contrario*), cf. Rom. iii. 6; Gal. iii. 10. But how, now, is this antithesis to be conceived of? It must have its ground in the words *δικαίου* and *ἀγαθοῦ*; but this can be the case only if, on the one hand, *δίκαιος* is here employed not in the general but in the special sense, and *ἀγαθός* here means not as usual, probus, but benignus. Is this meaning based on linguistic usage? Yes; cf. 1 Pet. ii. 18; Matt. xx. 15. The sense of the passage is, therefore, this: ("Christ died for the godless; yet how extraordinary this is). Since for a just man — one who is merely upright — one will scarcely die; the proof for

this is, that for a good man (a beneficent man), to be sure, one would easily undertake to die." Cf. further, the extremely difficult passage, James iv. 5:¹ ἡ δοκεῖτε ὅτι κενῶς ἡ γραφή, James iv. 5. λέγει Πρὸς φθόνον ἐπιποθεῖ τὸ πνεῦμα ὃ κατέκρησεν ἐν ἡμῖν; We pass over for the present the difficult ἡ γραφή λέγει, which cannot be explained in a grammatical way, and confine ourselves merely to the words πρὸς φθόνον, etc. In vs. 4 it is said: Know ye not that the friendship of the world is enmity against God? and this is now confirmed by a Scripture proof which, therefore—be the exact sense of the words what it may—must express the incompatibility of the love of God with love of the world. It is the πνεῦμα dwelling in them that is the proof of this incompatibility. But the question is, whether the proposition πρὸς φθόνον ἐπιποθεῖ . . . is declarative or interrogative; and this again depends on whether the words are intended in the good sense or in the bad, and how, more precisely, πρὸς φθόνον is to be explained? The connection seems to require a meaning for φθόνος something like ζῆλος (פְּזִיז Deut. xxxii. 16; Ex. xx. 5); but φθόνος never occurs in such a sense, but always in malam partem, to which the interrogative conception of the expression, requiring a negative answer, corresponds. Strange also is ἐπιποθεῖν πρὸς . . ., which verb never elsewhere occurs thus, but is always construed with the Accusative or with the Infinitive; πρὸς φθόνον can, therefore, in no way express the object of ἐπιποθεῖν; it must rather be employed adverbially as πρὸς ἡδονὴν πρὸς χάριν (Joseph. Ant. XII. x. 3), πρὸς ἐργὴν (Soph. Electr. 369). The sense is, therefore, this: "Think ye (who greedily strive after earthly goods) that the Scripture says in vain; does the Spirit, that has taken up his abode in you desire enviously, i.e. has the Spirit of God envious(worldly) lust?" Another dark passage is 1 John iii. 20:² . . . ἐν τούτῳ γινώσκουμεν ὅτι ἐκ τῆς ἀληθείας ἐσμέν, καὶ ἔμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ πείσομεν τὰς καρδίας ἡμῶν, ὅτι ἐὰν καταγινώσκῃ ἡμῶν ἡ καρδιά. ὅτι μείζων ἐστὶν ὁ θεὸς τῆς καρδίας ἡμῶν καὶ γινώσκει πάντα. The

¹ Cf. Weiss, Lehrb. d. Bibl. Theol. d. N. T., 188. — Tr.

² Cf. Weiss, 653; Düsterdieck, Luther, and De Wette, Comm. in loco.—Tr.

connection seems to require something consolatory, and yet the words run as if the meaning were: if our conscience condemns us, God is still holier and more omniscient, and knows our shortcomings and transgressions still better. Accordingly the connection already is in so far not clear, as it may be a matter of dispute whether the words καὶ ἔμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ, etc., are still dependent on ὅτι or not, and whether πείθω here means to *convince* or to *appease*. In the first case, the first ὅτι in vs. 20 would be an objective particle; in the second case, a causal particle, unless one prefers to make it dependent on ἐν τούτῳ γινώσκωμεν. The meaning "appease" for πείθω is rare indeed, but not unheard of, cf. Matt. xxviii. 14; Joseph. Arch. VI. v. 6, and seems more suitable to the intention (undoubtedly consolatory) of the entire passage and especially as an antithesis to καταγνώσκειν. But then, on account of the repeated ὅτι in vs. 20, the *construction* is doubtful; but we will reasonably disregard that which makes καὶ γινώσκει πάντα the apodosis, since by reason of the antithesis of καρδιά ἡμῶν and θεός the emphasis lies on μείζων; the repeated ὅτι is undoubtedly rather to be regarded as an emphatic epanalepsis of the first; hence the construction is just the same as in Gen. xxii. 16, 17, where also "וְ" is repeated after an intervening sentence. Finally, we are to answer the principal question, how μείζων is to be understood. The language seems really to point to this, that, if our conscience condemn us, God, as the omniscient judge, condemns us so much the more. But this sense is not at all compatible with vs. 19, whether we understand πείσσωμεν there in the sense "to convince" or "to appease." On the other hand, it would be an arbitrary explanation, if we were to refer μείζων merely to God's forgiving love, which would be altogether incommensurate with the κ. γινώσκει πάντα. Rather must μείζων relate to the fact that — while our heart takes cognizance only of single states (the present) — God is acquainted with our *whole* being, not only with that for which our conscience reproaches us, but also of our inmost (better) willing. When, then, it is said further in vs. 21: "If our heart condemn us *not*, we have a joyful assurance before

God," — this forms no antithesis to what precedes, but only a climax; first an appeasing and then a joyful assurance of the conscience is spoken of. In cases of such obscurity alike of the connection and of the meaning of an expression we are to proceed 1) from the *clearer*: if the connection is clearer, from the connection; if the verbal meaning is clearer, from the verbal meaning; 2) In the former case the disputed rendering is to be examined in the light of the best possible confirmation of the connection and the construction, — in the latter case the connection is to be examined in the light of the confirmation of the linguistic usage through parallel passages. Summary of principles.

36. Conflicting Results.

But what if regard to the linguistic usage and regard to the connection give *different results*? Something of this sort has been exhibited in the last examples; but for the further elucidation of the task and its performance we will present some other examples. Cf. 1 Cor. vii. 16: τί γὰρ οἶδας, γίνοιαι, εἰ τὸν ^{1 Cor. vii. 16.} ἄνδρα σώσεις; ἢ τί οἶδας, ἄνερ, εἰ τὴν γυναῖκα σώσεις; Paul had just before said that in mixed marriages the maintenance or the solution of the marriage-bond should be left to the free choice of the parties, and that there should be no compulsion in the matter. Now an encouragement to remaining and the question, "what knowest thou, if thou wilt *not* win the companion to Christ," would seem to be in place. But the language here, now, is clearly for the opposite, and Paul means rather to work against a compulsory *remaining* in such a marriage, and this by calling attention to the improbability, that in such a case the other party would be won to the gospel. Cf. also Gal. vi. 8: . . . ὁ σπεύρων εἰς τὴν σάρκα ἑαυτοῦ ἐκ τῆς ^{Gal. vi. 8.} σαρκὸς θερίσει φθιράν, ὁ δὲ σπεύρων εἰς τὸ πνεῦμα ἐκ τοῦ πνεύματος ζήσιν αἰώνιον. According to the language the first member of the verse seems to speak of carnal sins and their results, since what else can σπεύρειν εἰς τὴν σάρκα mean? But the connection leads to something altogether different; in vs. 6 the Apostle had, namely, exhorted to liberality towards teachers, and that he has not abandoned this thought. vs. 9 and 10 are a

proof, where again the exhortation is to well-doing. Now it might be objected that the expressions *σπείρειν* and *θερίζειν* are also elsewhere used of well-doing, 2 Cor. ix. 6. But *σπείρειν εἰς τὴν σάρκα* cannot possibly be referred merely to well-doing. How are we to resolve the opposition between the requirement of the verbal sense and the requirement of the connection? Evidently in the Apostle's mind lies liberality first towards teachers, then in general, but the figure *σπείρειν* and *θερίζειν* is used as well of charitableness as of course of conduct and its results in general. But that the thought about beneficence and its counterpart has not been entirely dropped is clear from *σάρκα ἑαυτοῦ*, which has reference to selfish interests, as well as from vs. 9 and 10. The sense is accordingly as follows: "Let him that is being instructed share with his teachers . . . (and not shut himself up in selfish interests against them); since *in general* God is not mocked with impunity . . . for he that thinks only of his own interests and welfare, will receive as the fruit thereof, corruption, — and he that is devoted to spiritual interests (to which belong thankfulness towards teachers and beneficence in general) will receive as the fruit thereof, eternal life. By this thought alone is the recurrence to beneficence explicable. The particles also, especially prepositions and conjunctions, make difficulties now and then, since the sense seems to demand a different one from that actually employed, and this comes in apparent conflict with the linguistic usage. Cf. John vi. 57, where the words *ζῶ διὰ τὸν πατέρα* seem unsuitable, and either *διὰ* with the Genitive or *ἐκ* seems, on the contrary, rather to be required; since Jesus means yet to designate the Father as his own source of life, while *διὰ* with the Accusative merely points out the causal ground which does not correspond with the intention of the discourse. But *διὰ* with the Accusative points out not only the causal, but also now and then the effectual ground, cf. Rom. viii. 11, where (at least according to Codd. DEF, and most other uncials, also several ancient versions and many patristic citations) *διὰ τὸ ἐνοικῶν ἐν ὑμῖν πνεῦμα* stands apparently for *διὰ τοῦ ἐνοικούντος . . . πνεύματος* (which,

Obscurity
from the use
of particles,
etc.

John vi. 57.

Rom. viii.
11.

indeed, Codd. ABC and others have). That $\gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho$ is often put for $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$, and vice versa, is well-known, and (to say nothing of the variations of the Codd.), is explicable from the fact that it often lies in the choice of an author, whether he will express a thought as the ground of what precedes, or only simply join it by means of the transitional $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$. So also there are cases, where an antithetical thought properly to be introduced by $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ is introduced by $\gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho$ as an argumentum e contrario, see, e.g. Rom. v. 7. Rom. v. 7.

Where, therefore, the linguistic usage and the connection seem to come into conflict with each other the following rules, deducible from the illustrative examples, are to be observed: 1)

Whether the connection or the linguistic usage is to prevail, cannot be determined on general principles or beforehand, but must be determined in each particular case. Summary of principles.

2) Is the connection clearer than the verbal meaning — the connection is to determine the interpretation; but is the linguistic usage and the verbal sense more certain — then this is to decide.

3) Yet in the former case the doubtful linguistic usage is to be considered as much as possible in the light of closer or more remote parallel passages — and in the latter case the connection also is yet to be attended to.

4) An explanation is, then, first to be regarded as assured, when it is confirmed as well through the connection as through suitable parallels.

b) External Helps to the Explanation.

37. Traditional Helps.

We have with reason treated first the internal helps, i.e. such as are found in Scripture itself, for it may be laid down as an axiom of interpretation, that *every author is, first of all, to be explained by himself*; and it is only the simple consequence of this axiom if the Protestant theology has postulated the principle, *Scriptura Scripturae interpres*. This cannot, of course, mean that Scripture — this object of the explanation — is also in the proper sense the *subject* of the explanation; but only this, that the most essential *means* of the explanation are to be drawn from Scripture itself. This, however, presupposes ex-

haustive linguistic knowledge. In the absence of this, recourse is naturally had, more than to anything else, to external, especially to *traditional* helps. Language is, indeed, in general a traditional possession, and the knowledge of it is chiefly to be derived from such vouchers as stood *in* the tradition itself, as the ancient Greek interpreters and the ancient lexicographers. From these, indeed, modern interpreters have been obliged also to a greater or less extent to draw. The controversy between Catholic and Protestant exegetes moves rather about the question, whether with regard to the *sense* also, Scripture is to be explained according to tradition or not? In favor of the traditional interpretation it is argued, 1) that the *spirit* from which the writings of the New Testament emanated, was propagated in the church, and that therefore the church as the possessor of this spirit, possesses the key to the understanding of Scripture, and 2) that if ecclesiastical tradition, this given medium of interpretation, is rejected, reliance is put upon the mere subjective judgment of the interpreter. We may reply, ad 1) The spirit of the Apostles and their disciples was, it is true, propagated in the church, but by no means to *all times*, for the degeneration and the partial disappearance of this spirit in the later centuries is a recognized fact; that it was not propagated in *full measure* is clear from the abatement and the partial alteration of the primitive Christian spirit already in the Apostolic Fathers and in the oldest Church Fathers, as Irenaeus, Clement, Tertullian, etc. But even granting that *in general* the spirit of the Apostolic men and the understanding of their writings have been preserved in the church, yet it is by no means to be proved that this understanding has been propagated *in reference to particulars*; and yet the Catholic view would come to this. But that a certain traditional understanding of Scripture is to be derived from the ancient Fathers, and especially from the Greek interpreters, among whom Chrysostom and his followers are especially to be mentioned, Protestant exegesis has never denied. The Conf. Helv. II. c. 2 says: *Proinde non aspernamur sanctorum Patrum Graecorum Latinorumque*

Controversy of Catholic and Protestant exegetes.

Catholic claims.

Protestant replies.

interpretationes, neque reprobamus eorundem disputationes ac tractationes rerum sacrarum cum Scripturis consentientes : a quibus tamen recedimus modeste, quando aliena a Scripturis aut his contraria adferre deprehenduntur.” Ad 2) That for the interpreter who does not hold himself to tradition, only subjectivism of exegetical judgment is left, is to be denied outright, for the reason that the internal helps,—the connection and the parallel passages.—to which we have given the precedence as the most essential,—are just as substantial and objective as ecclesiastical tradition, and if in a thousand cases the exegete is still thrown back on his own judgment, the same, indeed, is true also of the traditional exegete in all those cases in which exegetical tradition is discordant, or where it leaves him in the lurch. With the general traditional helps—dictionaries, grammatical treatises, etc.—only *he* must, therefore, begin, to whom the necessary preparatory knowledge for the interpretation of the New Testament are wanting; and it is self-evident that the acquisition of this preparatory knowledge must precede all consultation of the internal media of interpretation. But of this we need not here speak, but only of the operations belonging to exegesis itself; and it is by no means to be denied that after the application of the internal helps the *external* also must come into consideration. These are partly general, which relate to the language of the New Testament in general, and partly special, which have for their object the explanation of details (commentaries).

a) *General Helps.*

38. Later Greek Authors, Grammarians, Lexicographers, etc.

The linguistic knowledge which one brings to the interpretation of his author, resp. of the New Testament, is never so perfect as not to need in this or that regard enriching and confirmation. The more inexperienced the exegete is, the more is this the case. Such enriching and confirmation is chiefly to be derived from the *later Greek authors*—a Polybius, a Dionysius Halic., a Diodorus Siculus, a Dio Cassius, an Arrian, a Hierodan,

Later Greek
authors.

Jewish
Greek
authors.

Importance
of a knowl-
edge of He-
brew.

a Plutarch, an Aelian; and especially the *Jewish authors*, who wrote in Greek — Josephus, Philo, the Old Testament Apocrypha and Pseudepigraphs. Yet the New Testament writers have drawn their Greek in part from the Alexandrine version of the Old Testament. Partly on this account and partly because the native language of most of the New Testament authors was Hebrew, or rather Aramaic, the knowledge of Hebrew, as it is drawn from the Old Testament, is indispensable. The more the given New Testament author Hebraizes, the more necessary is this knowledge. In particular are those more recent works of essential use, which treat of the peculiarities of the Greek language, and especially of the New Testament Greek: the New Testament *Grammars* of Winer and Alex. Buttmann (editions as referred to above); “*Vigeri de praecipuis Graecae dictionis idiotismis l. ad G. Herm.*” ed. 4, 1834; *Phrynichi eclogae*, ed. Lobeck, 1820; *Devarii liber de Graecae linguae particulis*, ed. Reinh. Klotz, 2 vols. 1835–1842; finally the more recent dictionaries of the New Testament by *Bretschneider*, *Wahl*, and pre-eminently Wilib. *Grimm*, *Lexicon Graeco-Latinum in Libros N. Testamenti*,¹ 1868. For the Hebrew language the helps are well-known; the larger and smaller *Grammars* of Gesenius and Ewald, *Gesenii Thesaurus philol.-criticus linguae Hebraeae et Chaldaeae* [completed by Rödiger], 1829–1858, and the smaller Hebrew and Chaldee Dictionary that has appeared in various editions [the more recent works of Fürst, a Hebrew of the Hebrews, while they are exceedingly learned, are yet so full of wild theorizing that they can scarcely be reckoned as of high authority, though thus reckoned by many. Girdlestone’s “*Synonyms of the Old Testament*” is a work well worthy of consultation, though perhaps too much influenced by the theological views of the author].

¹ This work, which is of rare merit, has been translated by Prof. Thayer, and will, it is hoped, soon be published, by Mr. W. F. Draper, Andover. *Robinson’s N. T. Lexicon*, which has been extensively used in this country, has its value, but unless revised soon by an able hand, it is likely to be superseded. — TR.

39. Time and Order in the Use of Helps.

The use of these helps is various: some, as the Greek and Hebrew authors, are not, as a rule, to be applied then first, when needed for the explanation of the New Testament, since such an employment would amount to nothing. They are rather to be used previously and independently of the reading of the New Testament. Of course the reading of the whole mass of the literature under consideration is not to be thought of; but even he who has read only some one of the authors referred to, has laid a good foundation for the explanation of the New Testament. Moreover, the collections of *Raphelius*, *Kypke*, *Krebs*, may still always be used with profit—the more profit, the more notices one has himself collected from these Greek authors. Other helps, as Hermann ad. Vig., Lobeck ad Phryn., Klotz ad Devar., and especially the grammars and dictionaries, are applied in behalf of the reading and the interpretation itself. If the beginner is still in great part dependent on these helps, and especially on the dictionary, it is his duty the longer he works the more independent to make himself, and, on the other hand, to attain to a *self-dependent judgment*. To this end there is no other means than to dig out and examine the passages in question. The expenditure of time which this requires is richly rewarded by the personal insight which is thus gained; this is of far more value than mere memory knowledge of words, and the more rapid progress otherwise, certainly, attainable.¹

The reading of the whole mass of literature referred to impracticable.

Importance of becoming independent of lexicons, etc.

β) Special Helps.

40. Ancient and Modern Commentaries.

What are meant hereby are chiefly the *Commentaries*, and, indeed, pre-eminently those that are of importance in a philological relation. Very worthy of consideration, however, are already the *ancient Greek interpreters*, especially Chrysostom, Theodoret, and Theophylact, for whom the original language of the New Testament was still a living language. In these in-

Ancient Greek interpreters.

¹ Oh, that this thought might take firm hold on American students! —TR.

terpreters also, earliest of all, may an exegetical tradition be spoken of. The ancient versions also, as far as their language is accessible to the exegete, come into consideration, especially for the more difficult passages. Furthermore, the better exegetes of the *Reformation period*, especially Luther, Zwingli, Calvin, W. Musculus, Bened. Aretius, Theod. Beza, are still always of importance. The most distinguished exegete of the Reformation epoch, however, is Calvin. While we grant that he dogmatizes too much, and sometimes in the wrong place; that he dissects rather than explains the thoughts of the author; but, above all, that neither sufficient critical helps to the restoration of the pure text nor an exhaustive knowledge of the original languages were yet at his command; yet his exegetical impartiality and soberness, his gift for discovering, as if by divination, the connection, his exegetical tact, are very remarkable for his time, and useful even for us. Then, of the time of the dominance of dogmatism those interpreters are to be used with profit who emancipated themselves from dogmatism, as Hugo Grotius, Clericus, and, in general, the interpreters of the latter part of the seventeenth century, classed together under the name "*Critici Sacri*." In the eighteenth century J. A. Bengel ranks foremost through his immediate religious understanding of the sense, and his often remarkably excellent and concise expression of the same; only one must not allow himself to be misled by Bengel's seeking and finding of emphases. Bengel is more excellent in the setting forth of the sense of single words and clauses than in the explanation of the connection. From the early years of the nineteenth century, we mention especially G. Ch. Knapp with his *Scriptis Varii Argumenti*, and the exegetical treatises in *Fritzsche's Opusculis*, but in general *Fritzsche's Commentaries* on Mark, on single passages of 2 Corinthians, and on Romans. Exegetical treatises on single difficult passages are given in the "*Theol. Studien und Kritiken*." The most noted exegetes of more recent times are, *F. Lücke*, *F. Bleek*, *M. L. De Wette*, *H. A. W. Meyer*, and his continuators, Lünemann, Huther, and Düs-

Ancient
versions.

Exegetes of
the Refor-
mation
period.

Calvin.

Exegetes of
the Dog-
matic
period.

Bengel.

Exegetes of
the early
years of the
nineteenth
century.

Recent
exegetes.

dieck. (Cf. in general the History of Scripture Interpretation, §§ 31-34).

41. Familiarity with the Characteristics of Commentators.

In order to avail one's self of the exegetical helps to advantage an acquaintance with these helps is indispensable, and, indeed, with the peculiar merits and defects of those better known among them. One must know, in general, for what questions this or that commentary is to be consulted with the best results.

Peculiarities of some commentaries.

Olshausen's Commentary, e.g. which in fact contains much that is excellent, may be pre-eminently congenial to one; but should he suppose that he has in it a sure guide for a purely philological question, he would be often disappointed. Or suppose that one has become especially attached to the commentaries of Fritzsche on account of their philological value; should he now seek in him information about the true sense of a passage in Matthew he would for the most part find himself at a loss. That the exegetes of the sixteenth century are not to be depended upon with reference to a difficult word, as a *ἁπαξ λεγόμενον*, is self-evident. One must, in general, guard against letting his religious and ecclesiastical position exert a determining influence in the choice of exegetical helps, or preferring or rejecting a commentary principally according to the theological position of its author, as if "orthodoxy" (Glaubigkeit) were a guaranty for the correct explanation of a participial clause, or "free-thinking" a warranty for the correct conception of a *ἴνα* or for the best explanation of a *ἁπαξ λεγόμενον*. Only the tyro in exegesis can suppose that we are met at every step and turn by a vital religious question, where the theological tendency of the author must decide. How little this is the case two facts, by way of examples, may serve to prove, that

Orthodox commentaries not necessarily the most useful.

1) the Rationalist, Paulus, and the firm believer in revelation, Olshausen, agree in the explanation of not a few passages, and 2) that Fritzsche, who yet is regarded as a Rationalist, in his Commentary on Romans is led simply by means of his philological conscientiousness and thoroughness to the correct explanation — to an explanation which even the

Examples.

"orthodox" (gläubig) interpreters must accept. Not the theologico-ecclesiastical "direction," but exegetical thoroughness and conscientiousness should determine the value of a commentary. But even if an exegete has been found to be trustworthy and excellent, one must not yield himself unconditionally to his authority and swear by his words, but must always keep his eyes open. The indispensable condition here is, as has been already observed (§§ 25-36), that the exegete *first study the author by himself, without commentaries*, and *strive to become conscious of the questions* that are to be put to his exegetical helps. Only in this way will a man be truly profited by commentaries, and only in this way does the exegetical judgment remain clear and uncorrupted.

The exegete should first study the passage independently, etc.

C. The Exegetical Judgment.

42. Importance of an Accurate Method.

In order to arrive at a judgment as sure and well-grounded as possible, it is essential that we follow a correct and *accurate method*. This is of special importance in difficult passages.

Precedence of the grammatical explanation.

And, indeed, we must here repeat with emphasis that, after the determination of the text, the *grammatical explanation must have the precedence of all real-explanation, and of all theological explanation*. We could adduce examples where the circumstance that this rule has not been observed has hindered the correct and assured exegetical result; but we prefer to show positively by some examples, how the following of a correct exegetical method renders possible a sure exegetical judgment. This may be best illustrated by difficult constructions. Cf. Rom. v. 12 ff.¹ We have here a protasis introduced by ὡςπερ. Where is the apodosis? It is clear, that — if, indeed, we do not find it in vs. 12 — it cannot follow in the verses immediately succeeding, for there must be a οὕτως to correspond to the ὡςπερ. But a οὕτως follows in vs. 15, and again in vs. 18, yet not without a new protasis with ὡς. Accordingly, if we say provisionally that vs. 15 is the sought-for apodosis, we have in

Rom. v.
12 ff.

¹ Cf. *Philippi, Meyer, Hodge, Lange* (Schaff's ed.), *Comm. in loco*.—Tr.

vs. 13, 14 a parenthetical interposition, and — as introduction to the apodosis — a protasis, similar to vs. 12, which could then be regarded only as a resumption. How can we now determine whether the words in vs. 15, οὕτως καὶ τὸ χάρισμα are really the apodosis sought for or not? Answer: By proving whether the supposed resumption, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὥς τὸ παράπτωμα, logically corresponds to vs. 12, as well as whether the supposed apodosis in vs. 15 logically corresponds to the thought which we must really expect after ὥσπερ . . . εἰσῆλθεν, etc. (in vs. 12). This test gives a *negative* result, since the resumption does not correspond to what is to be resumed, and just as little does the apodosis correspond to that expected; for this, to correspond with the protasis in vs. 12, could only run thus: "So also through one man, Christ, justification and life have come into the world." Verse 18 seems more suitable as an apodosis, since here in fact the protasis conceived as a resumption, ὥς δι' ἐνὸς παραπτώματος εἰς πάντας ἀνθρώπους εἰς κατάκριμα, corresponds already to the protasis in vs. 12, as well as also the words οὕτως καὶ δι' ἐνὸς δικαίωματος εἰς πάντας ἀνθρώπους εἰς δικαίωσιν ζωῆς to the expected apodosis. To this is to be added the fact that the ἄρα οὖν seems to introduce a real resumption and conclusion. Yet the long interruption may awaken doubt, and the sense of vs. 18 diverges from that demanded by vs. 12 to the extent that the *predicate* in the two places is different; in vs. 12 εἰσῆλθεν, in vs. 18 ἐγένετο (to be supplied). Furthermore, in vs. 18 protasis and apodosis correspond so accurately to each other both in form and contents, while the analogy with vs. 12 is, at least formally, so inexact, that it is hard to suppose an immediate reference of vs. 18 to vs. 12. Or is, perhaps, the missing apodosis in vs. 12 itself? If so, it must be given in the words καὶ οὕτως εἰς πάντας ἀνθρώπους διῆλθεν, and καί must mean "also," which even at the head of an apodosis introduces no difficulty. But do protasis and apodosis here correspond to each other? Not thoroughly, since the former demands not a simple sequence, but an antithesis. Therefore, we find the apodosis to ὥσπερ . . . εἰσῆλθεν neither in vs. 15 nor in vs. 18,

and still less in vs. 12; but we have here an *anacoluthon*.¹ A passage which can only be explained by the correct application of the exegetical method, and where the non-observance of which method may cause inexperienced exegetes to miss the mark entirely, is Gal. iii. 20, cited above (§ 27). Whoever should begin immediately with the consultation and comparison of the various explanations, would fall into endless chaos, and would either arrive at no judgment at all, or at least at no independent and sure judgment. Just so, if he should begin with the meaning of the single difficult expressions. We are rather to begin with the accurate tracing of the connection. But now it is, indeed, very possible that other exegetes have viewed this differently, and generally in such cases still other elements come into consideration. The *other explanations*, therefore, at least the more important ones, must be compared. But these other explanations are legion. How, now, are we to arrive at an independent exegetical judgment? The process is facilitated by *classifying* the explanations, and comparing the different classes with the result at which one has arrived independently through an examination of the connection. With reference to vs. 19, the difference among interpreters consists principally in the fact that some find in the words *διαταγείς δι' ἀγγέλων* a glorifying predicate of the law, and in general reject the supposition that Paul meant to express in this verse the inferiority of the law; but the others *maintain* this. If we would know the grounds of the *former* view, they are as follows: 1) It is a most important consideration that where angels are mentioned in Scripture they serve for the glorification of God as well as of the matter with which they are connected, Matt. xxiv. 31; xxv. 31; John i. 52, and of the law itself, Deut. xxxiii. 2 (LXX); Acts vii. 53; 2) neither is *ἐν χειρὶ μεσίτου* a degrading element, since even the gospel was given through Christ and even Christ is called *μεσίτης*, 1 Tim. ii. 5; Heb. viii. 6; ix. 15; xii.

¹ The explanation here given is probably the correct one, and is coming to be adopted by scholars who do not think it unworthy of an inspired Apostle to fail to complete a sentence. Such cases are not infrequent in the writings of Paul. — Tr.

24; and 3) That a degradation of the law here, in general, did not lie at all in the intention of Paul. On the contrary, the *others* observe: ad 1) this is, indeed, granted; but a distinction Answers. is to be made between passages where angels are simply joined to God (Christ) and those, where as a result of a puristic idea of God, instead of conceiving of God as the only cause, angels are mentioned as mediators; ad 2) this is very questionable, nay rather to be rejected, since by *μεσίτης* *Moses* is here unquestionably meant (see Deut. v. 5; Philo, De Vit. Mos. II. p. 678 et al.), and since *Moses* as *μεσίτης* is here opposed to the one God, therefore *ἐν χειρὶ μεσίτου* can here point to nothing else than something subordinate, as compared with the promise; ad 3), finally, it is observed: *this* is just the question; or rather there is *no question at all*, but that the connection and the intention of the passage demand a subordination of the law to the promise; since from vs. 15 onwards, Paul shows that the covenant of the promise cannot have been made of no avail through the law which came so much later (vs. 15–17), and the inheritance is bestowed not by virtue of the law, but by virtue of the promise (vs. 18). Now in vs. 19 the objection is raised: Why, then, was the law given, and immediately thereupon it is answered, *τῶν παραβασέων χάριν ἐτέθη* — a thought that is found also in Rom. v. 20; vii. 13; and, indeed, by no means as an excrescence, but as an integral part of the Pauline teaching. When, now, there immediately follows: *διαταγείς δι' ἀγγέλων, ἐν χειρὶ μεσίτου*, the law can here be designated 1) only as a temporary institution (*ἄχρις οὗ ἔλθῃ . . .*), and 2) only as an antithesis to the promise, which is also confirmed by the words that follow. Whoever — as he should — has first of all, without bias, plunged into the Apostle's course of thought, will find this last ground in particular convincing, and will not permit himself to be led astray by the counter-arguments. And now, vs. 20? We here refer in the first place to the proof given above of the connection (§ 27). But much as the exégete must bear *this* in mind, he must be careful not to exclude the possibility that others have viewed the matter Due regard to be paid to the views of others.

otherwise, and perhaps better than himself. What, now, do the exegetes say? And how are we to find our way among the two hundred and fifty explanations? 1) By eliminating the explanations inconsistent with the connection, as, e.g. those that refer the *μεσίτης* to Christ. In general in *all* such cases the forest of explanations is to be cleared up through the elimination of the luxuriant undergrowth of fallacious and useless explanations. 2) The way to an independent judgment is, as has been already said, to bring the more important explanations under certain natural points of view, and thus to classify them. Since we are not to give here a commentary on the passages in question, but only instruction as to how in difficult cases a well-grounded and independent exegetical judgment may be attained, we must be content with the following: 1) We may distinguish between the explanations which suppose a progress of thought between vs. 19 and vs. 20, and those which recognize no such progress, but regard vs. 20 as a parenthetical thought; 2) between those that recognize in vs. 20 a historical relation and those that see in it only an altogether general proposition; 3) between such as understand *ένός* and *είς* numerically and individually and those which understand both of one party. There is naturally a host of shadings of each of these principal explanations, which we here leave unnoticed. In order to arrive at a decision, not only the connection with the foregoing, but also with what follows, is here to be taken into consideration; α) with the foregoing, immediately preceding was the objection *τί οὖν ὁ νόμος*; answered thus: "for the sake of transgressions it was given" . . . *έν χειρὶ μεσίτου*. That stress is laid not on the *διαταγ. δι' ἀγγ.* but on the words *έν χειρὶ μεσίτου*, is proved precisely by vs. 20, which — whatever may be the further explanation — gives an explanation to the *μεσίτης*. Let us regard, provisionally, the sense of vs. 20 as an unknown *x*, and attend β) to the connection with what follows: vs. 21 contains an objection, viz. "Is now the law against the promise of God?" This objection presupposes a thought that might lead to such a consequence, viz. to an opposition between

law and promise. Such a thought is not found in vs. 20, but rather in vs. 19, and this lends confirmation to our explanation of vs. 19; but at the same time opposes those explanations of vs. 20 which discover here a progress of thought; but vs. 20 contains no progress of thought; hence, on account of the *γάρ*, it can contain only a parenthetical elucidation. But to such a parenthetical clause a historical relation of the expression so generally maintained is not suitable. Verse 20 is, therefore, to be viewed in its abstract general sense. But how is it, now, with *ένός* and *εις*? The expression is so general that it makes no difference whether *ένός* is translated "one person" or "one party." On the other hand, the relation between the two members of the verse is questionable; indeed, it is evidently antithetical, but the antithesis is shrouded in darkness for the reason that *ένός* and *εις* are not congruous, and that it is questionable whether *εις* has in both places the same meaning. The former difficulty is cleared up by the consideration that Paul evidently could not say *ὁ δὲ θεὸς ένός ἐστιν*. But even in this there is no ground to attribute to the second *εις* another meaning than to the first. *Therefore*, vs. 20 is a general parenthetical elucidation — not of the person, but — of the idea *μεσίτης*: "The *μεσίτης* is not the *μεσίτης* of one person, but of two; but God is not a mediator between two, but he is one. one person; i.e. the mediator, through whom the law was given (Moses), is a mediator between two, sc. between God and the Israelites (see Deut. v. 5); but God, who gave the promise, is one person, and there is with him neither a duality of persons, nor a mediation." But Paul in order to bring sharply before the consciousness the difference between the promulgation of the law and the promise, expresses the thought not in concreto, but in abstracto. Thus the accurate grasping of the connection, combined with the sifting of the various explanations, leads to a proper estimate of the latter, and in general to a genuine exegetical judgment.

How the
true result
is attained.

43. Difficulties.

The exegetical judgment may be rendered difficult, or may be foiled, either through the difficulty of the passage itself, or

Difficulties
of the inex-
perienced.

Commen-
taries as
causes of
difficulty.

Means of
obviating
such dif-
ficulties.

Defective
judgment
on the part
of the exe-
gete.

through the exegetical helps consulted, or through defective judgment on the part of the interpreter. One who is altogether inexperienced may be so situated with reference to a *difficult passage*, as not to observe the difficulty, because for him everything is difficult. If such a one takes counsel of the commentators, he cannot but be perplexed. The cause of such inexperience is defective preparatory education. Another *sees* the difficulty of the passage, but is not in a position to overcome it. The only remedy is, not to remain standing in a vague feeling of the difficulties, but to seek above all to become clearly conscious of them; only then can the exegetical helps be of real service to one. But the difficulty of forming an exegetical judgment often lies in having taken counsel of the commentaries, i.e. in the *diversity of the explanations*. Several explanations may be plausible, and yet may so differ that the somewhat unpractised exegete knows not how to choose. In such a case two things are necessary: 1) To have before the mind, as clearly as possible, the questions on which he desires information from his helps, and 2) a knowledge of the *grounds* of the various explanations that have been found. This difference rests, namely, not seldom upon a difference of hermeneutical principles on the part of the commentators, e.g. whether they make their basis as much as possible the linguistic usage of good Greek, or whether they have regard to the Hebraistic usage; whether they make the connection the principal thing, or attend chiefly to linguistic usage and analogy. Such a tracing back to their causes of the different explanations compels the exegete to keep clearly in view the correct hermeneutical principles, which can lead him to the exegetical judgment. But the exegetical judgment is not seldom hindered and foiled through the defective or unsound *power of judging* of the exegete himself. This trouble it is hard to remedy; because, however ready one may be to lament, e.g. the weakness of his memory, nobody is willing to confess the weakness or the erroneousness of his judgment. The uneducated are, as a rule, hasty in judgment, because they

do not know the conditions of a correct judgment. He who is accustomed to reflect, on the contrary, comes to a conclusion with difficulty, because he cannot escape a discrimination of the possibilities. Such a one, in face of the difficulty and the various explanations of a passage, will not see the forest for the simple trees. Such a one would do well not to venture at once on difficult passages, but to exercise his judgment on easier parts; or, if he is forced to the explanation of a difficult passage, first to hold himself entirely aloof from the different explanations, and to form a judgment chiefly through an accurate study of the connection, and only then to confirm or correct this judgment through the consultation of the exegetical helps. Should he through these helps be led astray again, he should not persist in setting forth a definite result, but should hold to the best founded and the most probable explanations. A non liquet is under certain circumstances not ill-becoming, even to a practiced investigator. A cause of many exegetical errors lies also in the fact that one has taken it into his head before hand to find difficulties; then, indeed, that easily appears difficult which is not difficult, and the guide to judgment is lost. Frequently, an *exaggerated and hair-splitting acuteness* leads to perverted exegetical judgment. Without acuteness, indeed, no accuracy in investigation — no proper insight into the object to be investigated — is possible; but if the acuteness consists in finding one's delight in hair-splitting, or in not being content with the clear relation of the matter, but — as the French say — in seeking *midi à quatorze heures*, he is on the wrong road, and corrupts the judgment. It is not to be denied that the mere "sound human reason" is insufficient for understanding the authors of the New Testament, inspired as they are by the Divine Spirit, but that the *πνεῦμα* is requisite; yet *without* sound human reason, which distinguishes the simple from the complicated, the straight-forward from the perverse, no exegetical judgment is possible. The *πνεῦμα* does not suppress, but it *expands* "common sense" (1 Cor. ii. 14, 15). If the pneumatic interpretation is to consist in the finding of mysteries behind

The inexperienced should not attempt too much.

Exaggerated acuteness as a source of error.

"Common sense" requisite, though not sufficient of itself.

the clearest words, the exegetical judgment will be dulled beforehand. A variety of the pseudo-pneumatic interpretation consists in making exegesis subservient to a certain *system*.

The conditio sine qua non.

The conditio sine qua non of all exegetical judgment is, that a man *be able to abstract himself from his own opinions and fancies, and to throw himself into views and thoughts foreign from his own.*

3. Logical Explanation.

a) *Explanation of the connection of the individual thoughts among themselves.*

44. Rhetorical Elements.

Logical and grammatical explanation distinguished.

The logical explanation is closely connected with the grammatical. Here as there the connection comes into consideration, and here as there this is determined essentially through the conjunctions. But if the grammatical explanation has to do chiefly with the *language* of the author, and with the thought only in so far as it is dependent on the language, so the logical explanation is occupied entirely with the *thought itself*, and, indeed, predominatingly with the form of the thought; but with the linguistic element only in so far as this latter conditions not only the matter, but also the form of the discourse. In this relation are the rhetorical figures and the dialectic turns of importance; the rhetorical figures in so far as they likewise belong to the form of the discourse and manifoldly pass over into the dialectic. We set out, therefore, with

The rhetorical in the New Test.

Rhetorical figures.

a survey of the most important New Testament rhetorical and dialectic forms. 1) The *rhetorical* in the New Testament a) *Rhetorical expressions and figures*. To these belong, first of all, the *metaphor*. Compare, among others the expressions, *πενῆν* and *δυσῆν*, Matt. v. 6; John vi. 35; vii. 37; *τρέχειν*, Rom. ix. 16; Gal. ii. 2 (otherwise 2 Thess. iii. 1); *περιπατεῖν ἐν τῇ*, Rom. vi. 4; 2 Cor. iv. 2; Eph. ii. 2, 10; also *περιπατεῖν κατὰ σάρκα, κατὰ πνεῦμα*, etc., Rom. viii. 4 et al.; *ἐνδύεσθαι*, e.g. *τὸν Χριστόν, ἀφθαρσίαν, ἀθανασίαν, τὸν καιρὸν (νεὸν) ἀνθρώπων*, Gal. iii. 27; 1 Cor. xv. 53, 54; 2 Cor. v. 3, 4; Eph. iv. 24;

Col. iii. 10; οἰκοδομεῖν (—εἶσθαι), 1 Cor. iii. 9; 1 Pet. ii. 5; ὀπλίζειν (—ζεσθαι), 1 Pet. iv. 1. In general it is to be observed that the idea of the metaphor has been frequently far too much extended, and has been applied, e.g. to similes and to parabolical expressions. Moreover, we are never to forget that the biblical authors indeed understood many figurative expressions far more literally than we matter-of-fact Occidentals understand them. We are to mention; further, the *metonymy*. Most frequent of all is the abstract for the concrete, as πόλις for πολῖται, Ἱεροσόλυμα for the inhabitants of Jerusalem, also the words πρεσβεία, θεραπεία, ἀδελφότης (1 Pet. ii. 17; v. 9), ἡ ἐκλογή for οἱ ἐκλεκτοί, (Rom. xi. 7), περιτομή and ἀκροβυστία for the circumcised and the uncircumcised (Rom. ii. 26; Gal. ii. 7 f.). The *synecdoche* which includes sundry things, e.g. all for much, and vice versa, the plural for the singular, and among others, (cf. two special kinds of *synecdoche* treated under β). The *emphasis* and the so-called δεινότης consisting chiefly in repetition, e.g. κύριε, κύριε, Matt. vii. 21; Σίμων, Σίμων, Luke xxii. 31; Σαούλ, Σαούλ, Acts ix. 4; Ἱερουσαλήμ, Ἱερουσαλήμ, Luke xiii. 33; Matt. xxiii. 37; further the emphatically repeated ἀλλά, 1 Cor. vi. 11; 2 Cor. vii. 11. Finally, the *play on words*, of which Paul especially makes frequent use, e.g. ἀκροβυστία in the same sentence in different senses, Rom. ii. 26; in like manner νόμος, Rom. iii. 21; viii. 2, 3; δικαιοσύνη in the same way, Rom. ix. 30, 31. β) *Rhetorical turns*: to these belong the *personification* or προσωποποιία, e.g. ὁ θάνατος, Rom. v. 14; 1 Cor. xv. 55; ἡ ἁμαρτία, Rom. vi. 14; James i. 15; ἡ ἐπιθυμία; ἡ γραφή, Gal. iii. 8, 22; the *apostrophe*, Matt. xi. 21 f.; xxiii. 37; Luke xix. 42–44; Rom. ii. 1, 3, 17; xi. 13, 24; James ii. 18, 19; v. 1–6; the *synecdoche* so far as a general truth is expressed in a special form: Matt. v. 39–41; vi. 3, 17; x. 42; xviii. 8; xxiv. 40, 41; Luke xii. 52; xiii. 32; xvii. 31, et al.; and so far as an earthly (e.g. a merely prudential motive) is put for a spiritual: Matt. v. 25; 39 ff.; vi. 17; Luke xiv. 8–11. These two *synecdochical* forms are confined almost entirely to the synoptic discourses of Jesus. The *con-*

trast: Matt. vii. 3; xvi. 26; Rom. ii. 21, 23; 1 Cor. i. 18, 21; 2 Cor. iv. 8, 9; vi. 8-10. The *paradox and the oxymoron*: Matt. x. 39 and xvi. 25; xiii. 12 and xxv. 29; Rom. iv. 18; 1 Cor. i. 21, 25; iii. 18; ix. 19; 2 Cor. iv. 8-10; xii. 10 ("When I am weak, then am I strong"). *Irony*: Matt. ix. 12, 13; Luke xv. 7; xiii. 33; 1 Cor. iv. 8; 2 Cor. xi. 7, 19 f. Further, the *hyperbole*, which is found not only in rhetorical language, but even in plain prose: Mark iii. 7, 8; Luke vi. 17; xii. 1; Matt. xi. 23; Rom. i. 8; as also the opposite of this, the *meiosis* or *litotes*: John vi. 37 ("will not cast out,") Rom. i. 16 ("I am not ashamed of the gospel"; yet the passage may be thought of also without *litotes*), Rom. v. 5 ("maketh not ashamed"), Heb. ii. 11 ("he is not ashamed to call them brethren"), Heb. xi. 16. The *aposiopesis*: Luke xix. 42 ("if thou hadst known, even thou, in this thy day the things that belong to thy peace" — sc. how well would it be for thee!), John vi. 61, 62 ("If, then, you should behold the son of man ascending where he was before ...?" sc. what would you then say? Or, then would you not be offended still more?); Rom. ix. 22, 23 ("But if God, willing to show forth his wrath and to make known his power, endured with much long-suffering vessels of wrath fitted for destruction," — sc. canst thou still complain of injustice?). In these examples it may suffice to show what coloring Jesus, the Apostles, and the disciples of the Apostles have given to their discourses, and how the interpreter, side by side with the contents of their words, has to pay attention also to the peculiar forms in which these contents are clothed.

45. Dialectic Elements.

The *dialectic* forms of speech. Although these belong chiefly to the Apostle Paul, yet they are also tolerably frequent in the synoptic discourses of *Jesus*. We find oftentimes of all Questions of various intentions. *questions* of very various intentions; a) Counter-questions: Matt. xv. 3 f.; xxi. 24, 25, xxii. 20 (Luke xx. 24); Luke x. 26; xx. 3 f.; β) Suggestive questions: Matt. xi. 7-9 (Luke vii. 24-26); Matt. xxii. 42 coll. John vi. 67. γ) Disjunctive

questions: Matt. xxi. 28-31; Luke vi. 9; vii. 41-42; x. 36 coll. 29; xiv. 4. δ) Contradictory questions: Matt. ix. 15; xii. 3, 4, 26; xv. 3 f.; xxi. 40; xxii. 21, 43 f.; Luke xvii. 17, 18; also John xiii. 38; xiv. 9. ε) Enhancing questions: John i. 51; vi. 62. ζ) Transmutation of idle questions into questions of conscience: Luke x. 29 coll. 36; xiii. 23, 24; cf. xix. 11-27. *Arguments* also of various sorts are found in the Gospels, most frequently of all α) *argumenta a minori ad majus*: Matt. vi. 26; vii. 9-11; x. 29-31; xii. 11, 12; Luke xi. 5-13; xii. 27, 28; xiii. 15, 16; xv. 4-11; xvi. 10-12; xviii. 6, 7; cf. John iii. 12; v. 26-29. β) *argumenta a majori ad minus*: Matt. ix. 6 and parallel passages; x. 25; John xiii. 14, 15; xv. 20. With reference to this it is to be observed that now and then an *argumentum a minori ad majus* may also be conceived of as an *argumentum a majori ad minus*, and vice versa, according, indeed, as the emphasis is put upon the subject or upon the predicate. γ) *argumenta ex absurdo*: Matt. ix. 15; xii. 25, 26; xxii. 43-45. δ) *argumenta ab effectu*: Luke vii. 21, 22, 44-47; John xviii. 36. ε) *argumenta e concessis*: Matt. v. 46, 47 (Luke vi. 32-34); xv. 27 and parallels; Luke xiii. 15, 16; xiv. 28-33; xv. 4-6, 8, 9; xvii. 7-10; xxii. 27. ζ) arguments from analogy, often coinciding with the *argumenta e concessis*: Matt. xii. 3, 4; ix. 15-17; xv. 17-19; xviii. 23 ff.; xxiv. 43, 44; Luke xi. 5-13; xviii. 1-8; xiv. 28-33; John iii. 29, et al. But the dialectic method of instruction is found chiefly in *Paul*. First of all is here to be mentioned the way and manner in which the Apostle combines Scripture arguments with rational arguments, and the latter with the former; in part, namely, he avails himself of *Scripture arguments as a point of departure for his argumentation*, as in Rom. iii. 9-20; iv. 3 ff.; ix. 15, 16, 17, 18; x. 16 f.; 1 Cor. x. 1 ff.; xiv. 21; Gal. iii. 8; iv. 21 ff.; cf. Eph. iv. 8 f.; in part, the Scripture arguments serve him as a confirmation and a key-stone of his logical reasonings; cf. Rom. ix. 24, 25, 31-33; x. 15; xi. 2-5, 7-10, 25-27; xiv. 11; 1 Cor. i. 31; iii. 19, 20; x. 26; xv. 54, 55; 2 Cor. viii. 15; ix. 9; cf. Eph.

*Arguments
found in the
Gospels.*

*Dialectics
chiefly in
Paul.*

The ques-
tion in Paul

v. 31. The dialectic moving of the Pauline discourse itself shows the following turns: extremely frequent with him is the *question*, and, indeed, α) as a question to be denied or to be contradicted: Rom. iii. 9, 27, 29; vi. 1, 15; vii. 7; ix. 14; x. 18, 19; xi. 1, 11; 1 Cor. ix. 7, 11; x. 19, 22; xiv. 6, 7, 8, 36; 2 Cor. i. 17; xi. 11; β) as an affirmatory question: Rom. iii. 1; 1 Cor. viii. 10; ix. 1, 4-6; x. 16; γ) as a shaming question: Rom. ii. 3, 4, 17-23; 1 Cor. iii. 3, 4; iv. 21; v. 2; vi. 1, 2, 7, 8; viii. 10; xi. 22; xv. 12; Gal. iii. 1 f.; iv. 9, 10, 16; v. 7; δ) as an objection (a specifically Pauline turn), usually introduced through the formulae *τί οὖν ἐποῦμεν*, or merely *τί οὖν*, *ἐπεὶς οὖν*, and the like, Rom. iii. 3, 5; vi. 1, 15; vii. 7; ix. 14, 19, 30; xi. 19. But side by side with this also a refutation of every objection through an authoritative expression: Rom. ix. 20, 21; 1 Cor. xi. 16. More rare is ε) the sug-

Paul's argu-
ments.

gestive question: Rom. iii. 1; iv. 1. The *reasonings* of Paul appear in the following forms: α) the argumentum a minori ad majus: Rom. v. 8-10; 2 Cor. iii. 7-11; β) the argumentum a majori ad minus: Rom. xi. 21; γ) a special exhortation or reproof based upon the general relation: 1 Cor. iii. 21-23; xi. 3-15, 23 f.; xii. 4 ff.; xv. 1 ff.; δ) a grounding of a general direction or exhortation on a special (supposed) case: 1 Cor. viii. 10; x. 27-29; xiv. 23, 24; ε) argument from contrast or antithesis: 1 Cor. i. 19-25; 2 Cor. iv. 7-11; vi. 8-10; vii. 5; ζ) argumentum ex absurdo: 1 Cor. xiv. 23; xv. 12-19, 29-32; η) argument from history: Rom. iv. 1-5 and 10 f.; v. 12-21; ix. 7-12, 17; xi. 3 f.; θ) appeal to the Christian knowledge of the readers: Rom. vi. 16; vii. 1; 1 Cor. vi. 2, 3, 9, 15; Gal. iv. 21 f.; ι) argument from analogy: Rom. vii. 1-6; Gal. iv. 1 f., 21 f.; 1 Cor. xiv. 7 f.; xv. 35 ff.; κ) argument from the experience of the readers: 1 Cor. i. 26 ff.; xi. 30; 2 Cor. vii. 11 f.; Gal. iii. 2-5; λ) argument from the experience of the Apostle: 1 Cor. ii. 1 f.; Gal. i. 11-24; ii. 1-10, 11 ff.; μ) argument from general Christian experience (for the most part in the form of a μετασχηματισμός): Gal. iii. 23-25; Rom. vii. 7-24; Gal. ii. 19, 20; Rom. v. 1 ff.; viii. 1-4, 15, 16, 26.

It may be shown that in Paul's Epistles written during his imprisonment the dialectic element is less prominent. Outside of the Pauline Epistles, the *Epistle to the Hebrews* is that which shows dialectics most of all. The following are the principal turns that are found in this Epistle: α) the Scripture argument as the foundation of an inference: ii. 6; vii. 1-10; viii. 8-13; x. 5 f. β) the Scripture argument as the conclusion of a process of reasoning: v. 6; vii. 17. γ) argumentum a minori ad majus: ii. 2, 3; ix. 13, 14; x. 28, 29. *James* furnishes an antithesis to the dialectic process, seeking to convince almost never through rational grounds, but for the most part through examples: i. 23, 24; ii. 2-4; xv. 16, 20 f.; iii. 4, 11; v. 17, 18. A form of speech belonging to parenetic discourse, and according with the essence of Christianity, is the *motiving of an exhortation* through the experience of salvation; this occurs in almost all the New Testament authors: Rom. vi. 2 f., 13, 14; viii. 9; xii. 1-3; Gal. iv. 9; v. 1; 1 Pet. 1, 17 f., 22, 23; ii. 2-4; iv. 1-3, 13 f.; 1 John iii. 1-3; iv. 11 coll. Gosp. of John v. 14; xv. 9, 15, 16.

Dialectics
of the Epis-
tle to the
Hebrews.

James
proves by
examples.

46. Conjunctions.

The logical explanation, so far as it relates to the connection of the individual thoughts among themselves is closely connected with the grammatical explanation. It is self-evident that here the conjunctions must be decisive. But now text-critical difficulties sometimes enter, in that the reading frequently wavers, e.g. between γάρ and δέ; but also exegetical difficulties, in that not unfrequently where the reading is critically established, one conjunction seems to be used for another, as likewise δέ for γάρ and vice versa, ἵνα for ὅτι, ὥστε for οὖν, and vice versa. In such cases we are not to suppose, as was supposed by many of the older interpreters, a confounding of the conjunctions; but where, e.g. δέ appears to be put for γάρ, the author has annexed the antithetical thought to the foregoing, not as antithetical, but simply as a *new* thought; where vice versa γάρ seems to be put for δέ, as, e.g. Rom. v. 7, there the antithetical thought is treated as an argumentum e contrario.

Relation of
the logical
explanation
to the gram-
matical.

Various
readings.

^{ἵνα} in later
Greek.

That *ἵνα* in the later Greek is often put where the better writers would have put the infinitive or an objective clause with *ὅτι*, is well-known (cf. Winer, Thayer's ed., pp. 334, 335), and must be maintained against puristic elaboration. Cases occur, to be sure, where the telic meaning also is admissible, as, for example, after *verba jubendi et exhortandi*; but often the telic meaning could be adhered to only with the greatest forcing, as, e.g. *θέλω ἵνα*, *ἄξιός ἵνα*, *ἀρκετός ἵνα* (Matt. x. 25), *συμφέρει ἵνα* (Matt. xviii. 6), *ἐμὸν βρῶμά ἐστιν ἵνα* . . . (John iv. 34), *πόθεν μοι τοῦτο ἵνα* . . . (Luke i. 43). But even with the *κοίνοις*, such constructions occur, as in Arrian. Epict. *θέλω ἵνα* (I. 18, 14), *πρώτόν ἐστιν ἵνα* (*id.* I. 10, 8), etc. *ἵνα* seems to have been put also now and then *ἐκβατικῶς* as *ὥστε*. But it is rather to be said, that design and result not rarely pass over into each other, and that which appears as mere result could be conceived of by the author as design, and by the *biblical* author, in accordance with his teleology, could be put as a divinely ordained object, as, e.g. John ix. 2; 1 Cor. xiv. 13; Gal. v. 17, as already John of Damascus (De orthod. fide IV. 20) says: *ἔθος τῇ γραφῇ, τινὰ ἐκβατικῶς ὀφείλοντα λέγεσθαι, αἰτιολογικῶς λέγειν*. Frequently also *ὥστε* and *οὖν* appear confounded, cf. for example, Matt. x. 1; xxvii. 1; Luke ix. 52, et al. In all these passages *ὥστε* stands for the designed result, which even in the Greeks is not rarely the case, cf. Thucydides, IV. 23; Xenoph., Cyroped. III. 2, 16.

Biblical
teleology.

47. Participles.

Among the grammatical relations that may exercise an influence on the logical explanation and make this doubtful, we make special mention here still of the *participial relation*, which may be either a temporal or a causal or a conditional relation, or may be resolved through "although." In many cases the relation is to be ascertained from the connection, but not always. Even the temporal relation may be a matter of dispute, and cases are found in the New Testament, where this even exercises an influence on the dogmatic sense. Cf. John

John 1. 18.

i. 18: *ὁ μονογενὴς υἱὸς ὁ ὢν εἰς τὸν κόλπον τοῦ πατρὸς ἐκεῖνος*

ἐξηγήσατο. Here the question is, whether **ὢν** is to be understood as present or as imperfect. Grammatically, as is well-known, either is admissible; but for the sense it makes an essential difference whether we render "who is in heaven" or "who was in heaven." The matter is to be decided only through an ascertaining of the sense of the passage as a whole. Does the Evangelist mean to say, the only-begotten Son, who in his pre-existence was in intimate communion with the Father, he has revealed, etc.? This might be recommended by the doctrine of the Logos of the prologue; iii. 13 might also be adduced in favor thereof. But from the connection we ascertain that after vs. 14 the transcendent history of the Logos is no longer spoken of, but the experience that believers have of the incarnate Logos: and with regard to the passage iii. 13, **ὁ ὢν ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ** would be imperfect if it were said **ὁ ὢν ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καταβύς**, but not if **ὁ ὢν ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ** is appended, as it is. But the view also, by virtue of which **ὁ ὢν** is taken as present, indeed, but is referred to his state of exaltation in heaven, has the connection against it. Rather, it is meant to express the *general relation* of the incarnate one, and **ὢν** is therefore to be conceived as present. (So already Chrysostom referred the word to the *συγγενεία καὶ ἐνότης*). Still more difficult is the temporal relation of the participles in Phil. ii. 6-8. The matters in question here are, 1) whether **ἐν μορφῇ θεοῦ ὑπάρχων**, etc., is to be understood as present, i.e. as contemporaneous with **ἀρπαγμὲν ἡγήσατο**, that is to say, whether Christ *during his earthly life* is considered as **ἐν μορφῇ θεοῦ-ὑπάρχων**, etc., or whether **ὑπάρχων** is to be conceived of as imperfect, and his **ἐν μορφῇ θεοῦ εἶναι** as Christ's condition in his pre-existence. (The same question prevails in regard to the passage 2 Cor. viii. 9); 2) whether **μορφὴν δούλου λαβών** was understood by the Apostle as preceding the **ἐκένωσεν**, or as contemporaneous therewith; in other terms, whether by the **ἐκένωσεν ἑαυτὸν** it is intended to designate his activity during his earthly existence, or the act of emptying himself of the heavenly life as Logos for the limited earthly life. The first

Grammatical usage. thing to be done is, to inquire into the grammatical usage. With regard to the first question the rule holds good, that the *present* participle construed with the principal verb in the preterite indicates a *contemporaneous* action or state, cf. Luke ii. 47 ; iii. 18 ; iii. 14 ; xxiv. 44 ; Acts v. 5, et al. With regard to the second question the usage preponderating by far is, indeed, that the *aorist* participle construed with the principal verb in the preterite expresses a *preceding* action or state ; yet it is not rarely the case that a contemporaneous action or state is indicated thereby ; cf. Luke viii. 54 ; xi. 40 ; Acts x. 39, etc.

Connection Since, therefore, the grammatical linguistic usage is not decisive, we are to take counsel of the connection. In vs. 5 f., Christ is represented as an example of unselfishness and resignation ; this resignation consisted, according to vs. 6 f., in the fact that he — although in the form of God — considered likeness to God not as something usurped,¹ but emptied himself, etc. This *ὑπάρχειν ἐν μορφῇ θεοῦ* is (see above) contemporaneous with the *οὐχ ἄρπαγμόν ἡγεῖσθαι* and *κενοῦν ἑαυτόν*, which are applicable as well to his pre-existence as to his earthly life. More important, accordingly, is the temporal relation of the participial clause *μορφὴν δούλου λαβὼν* to *ἐκένωσε ἑαυτόν*, and it is decisive for the whole. And here the circumstance already, that the participle stands after the principal verb, is favorable to the *contemporaneousness* of the two actions, since such a participle, as a rule, indicates the way and manner in which the principal action happens ; cf. Luke xxi. 12 ; Acts v. 30 ; vii. 24 ; ix. 25 ; Thucydides, I. 23. Now, to be sure, the specification of the way and manner may be also temporal, and this temporal determination may consist in a foregoing action, as Luke xxiv. 47, but this is then indicated through the contents of the parti-

¹ On *ἄρπαγμός* : substantives in *-μός* express, as a rule, the *intransitive* meaning of the verbal stem, while substantives in *-σις* express the *transitive* (cf. Kühner, Gram. Gr. I, § 370). If in the later Greek, and particularly in the New Testament, this distinction is no longer observed, so *ἁγιασμός*, *βαπτισμός*, *γογγυσμός*, *διαλογισμός*, *καθαρισμός*, *μερισμός*, *ὀνειδισμός*, *συνδεσμός*, *χρηματισμός*, yet all these words have *also* the transitive meaning, and when in doubt we are to make this our starting point.

cial clause. Such is not the case in our passage; and we have every reason to understand the words *μορφὴν δούλου λαβὼν* as a designation of the manner in which *ἐκένωσεν ἑαυτὸν*, and accordingly as contemporaneous therewith. The *κένωσις* of Christ *consisted*, therefore, in the assumption of the form of a servant; and since the expression *μορφὴν δούλου* stands on the one hand in unmistakable contrast with *μορφὴ θεοῦ*, and on the other hand is more definitely explained through the *ἐν ὁμοιώματι ἀνθρώπων γενόμενος* which follows; the sense is accordingly this, that Christ is our example in self-renunciation, in that he emptied himself of the *μορφὴ θεοῦ*, which he had in his pre-existence, and assumed, in exchange therefor, the form of a servant, i.e. the simple human form. (Thus already the whole body of ancient Greek exegetes understood the passage). These examples may suffice to show how *the grammatical and the logical explanation stand in the closest connection, and condition one another*. Cf. moreover, what has been said above (§ 25 f.) on the connection as a means of explanation.

48. Lack of Connection, seeming or actual.

But the connection is often questionable and difficult from the *absence of any conjunction or other grammatical annexation*. This occurs not only in rhetorical *ἀσυνδέτοις*, but it is not seldom quite uncertain whether there exists a connection or not. Now it is certainly altogether perverse to wish to subtilize out a connection where there is none. So would it be, for example, quite idle elaboration to seek to bring out a connection between the sentences Luke xvi. 15–18, while these expressions are evidently only detached apothegms; cf. vs. 16 with Matt. xi. 12, 13, where the expression stands in a good connection; further, vs. 17 with Matt. v. 18, and vs. 18 with Matt. v. 32. In other cases the matter is, in fact, questionable, in that even if a connection is to be accepted, yet doubt prevails as to *what* connection; cf. the macarisms of the Sermon on the Mount, Matt. v. 3–12. That these are connected among themselves may be regarded as acknowledged. But what is the combining thought? Indeed, after the answer to this question

Luke xvi.
15–18.

Matt. v.
3–12.

has come forth, a different light accrues to vs. 8 in particular. If we observe first of all the situation, we see that these macarisms are not directed to the ὄχλοι, whom he much rather avoids, but to the disciples. Accordingly, it is evident from the arrangement in Matthew, that the Sermon on the Mount forms, as it were, Jesus's Messianic programme, and the macarisms the introduction to the same. If we compare now this situation with the contents of the macarisms themselves, we gain the conviction that Jesus here declared what sort of men are fitted for the kingdom of heaven which he brings. From this fundamental thought, as from the extended concluding macarism, it follows that those can scarcely have viewed the matter correctly, who would find in vs. 3-6 the negative, and in vs. 7 and the following verses the positive attributes of those that are fit for the kingdom of heaven. That not positive virtues, but susceptibility and fitness for the kingdom of heaven are here treated of, is evident not only from the last macarism, which refers back to the first, but also from the pervasive relation between the felicitated subjects and the promises. So are the ἐλεήμονες not only the compassionate in general, but those who are compassionate in the consciousness how much they themselves need compassion; the καθαροί τῇ καρδίᾳ not the sinless (cf. on the other hand, Matt. ix. 12, 13; Luke xv.), but those whose heart is sincere and true, and the εἰρηνοποιοί not merely those who are pacific in general, but those who are pacific in the longing for peace with God. It is darker and more disputed, whether the expressions Matt. vii. 1-14 are organically connected with each other. Verses 15-17 form, evidently, a connecting link, hence only the connection of the first fourteen verses can be matter of dispute. We are to take as our starting-point that which is without doubt, and this is the *grouping* of this section. Verses 1-5 form one group, and treat of judging; vs. 6 appears to stand there isolated; on the other hand vs. 7-11, which treat of the effect of prayer, form in turn a group, while vs. 12, again, appears to stand without connection, and just so between vs. 12 and the two following verses, which treat of the narrow and

Matt vii.
1-14.

broad gates, no connection is established. The question is, therefore, more definitely to be expressed, thus : Is there a connection between vs. 5 and 6, between vs. 6 and 7, between vs. 11 and 12, and, finally, between vs. 12 and 13 ? If we take the more certain as our starting-point, vs. 12, whose contents yet appear to stand in no connection with the foregoing, yet is connected with the foregoing through *οὖν*, and is, according to the design of the Evangelist, the consequence of what precedes. What consequence ? The combining thought is praying and being heard : just as we ourselves pray and desire to be heard, so shall we fulfil the desires of those that beg of us. This combining, which here has to be supplied, Luke *gives* (vi. 30, 31). If now the Evangelist intends a connection between vs. 7-11 and vs. 12, where there appears to be none, the probability is, that the other expressions also, although connected through no conjunctions, do not stand without connection : between vs. 1-5 and vs. 6, the combining thought seems to be, "one is first to judge himself before he judges others, but then are others also to be judged, in order that what is holy be not bestowed upon dogs." Between vs. 6 and 7 ff., the correspondence of giving and receiving forms the connection. Finally, between vs. 12 and 13 f., the combining thought is the serious task and difficulty that are involved in the foregoing expression, in opposition to all those who would make their life-work easy, and their way of life comfortable ; cf. further on in the chapter vs. 21-27. In all such passages, where the connection is difficult and doubtful, the following rules apply : 1) We must always take the clearer and more certain as our starting-point, and seek thence to gain light for the darker and more doubtful ; 2) We must attend to the conjunctions ; but we must also never neglect a survey of the dark passage as a whole ; 3) We must guard against underlaying the author with a heterogeneous or modern nexus.

Principles.

b) *Ascertaining the Course of Thought of an Entire Section.*49. **Methods and Difficulties.****Methods.**

The course of thought of a section admits of being explained in two different ways: a) by proceeding from the individual parts, and, as it were, advancing from below upward to the understanding of the intention and of the fundamental thought, and b) by proceeding from the fundamental thought, and from these gradually descending to the individual parts. Strictly taken, these two methods must supplement each other; but, as a rule, we are to begin with the first-mentioned; therefore, we give to the ascertaining of the course of thought the precedence

Difficulties.

of the ascertaining of the fundamental thought. The course of thought becomes difficult chiefly in the following cases: a) when the individual thoughts stand apparently isolated and without connection, cf. § 48; β) when on the contrary the individual thoughts seem to be by no means adequately discriminated, but, as it were, are blended with one another, as in the Johannean writings, and γ) when in the details a clear connection of thought is present, but the *whole* exhibits an internal incongruity. For the illustration as well of the task as of its accomplishment, we give once more some examples, relating to the cases mentioned under β and γ.

50. **The Johannean Logic.****Inquiry.**

Most of the Johannean discourses have the peculiar difficulty, that the thoughts seem to run not at all according to logical laws, and therefore the logical explanation sees itself robbed, as it appears, of the logical categories as means of explanation. Is this course — mocking at all logic — only an appearance? or do other than the usual determinations of thought

Answer.

stand at the command of logical exegesis? The answer to these questions can only be found in concreto. Cf. the *conversation of Jesus with Nicodemus*, John iii. 1-21. The first thing here also is attention to the connection with the foregoing. Just before it was recounted, that during Jesus's sojourn in Jerusalem many believed in him for the sake of the signs, but that he did

John iii.
1-21.

not commit himself to them, because by virtue of his acuteness he penetrated their thoughts. Now one of those that believed in him for the sake of the signs was Nicodemus (vs. 2). In the unexpected, and on its face somewhat dark, answer of Jesus every one understands at once that Jesus means to make him feel the insufficiency of this faith for entrance into the kingdom of God. Why insufficient? Doubtless, because anybody may have such a faith without having undergone any moral or spiritual change. *Therefore*, it comes about, that one must become another man, must begin his life, as it were, anew (cf. Matt. xviii. 3). The nature of this new birth now is discussed to vs. 9, between Nicodemus, disconcerted in religious stupidity, and Jesus, standing over against him in divine superiority. The *ἄνωθεν* ("from above," cf. iii. 31; xix. 11) was completely unintelligible, and Nicodemus remained sticking in the literal conception of the *γεννηθῆναι*. Jesus aims at giving Nicodemus a better understanding, 1) through a repetition of the sentence, only with a more definite explanation of the *ἄνωθεν* through the words *ἐξ ὕδατος καὶ πνεύματος*; 2) by showing that a fleshly birth can by no means be meant by the *γεννηθῆναι* (vs. 6), and 3) that this is a thing just as little to be apprehended by the ordinary reason as is an analogous process in nature (vs. 7, 8). When Nicodemus shows himself still always incapable of understanding what has been said, Jesus gives his discourse *another turn*: he takes now as his point of departure just this inability to understand on the part of Nicodemus, and in contrast herewith that which he had to reveal, in order not at all to let himself down to Nicodemus's deficient power of conception, but, on the contrary, to raise himself to the revelation of the divine purpose of salvation to be realized in him (vs. 10-15). In making prominent, to his shame, namely, Nicodemus's lack of comprehension as a lack of faith, and the contrast between his official position and his insensibility, and in setting over against Nicodemus's insusceptibility the truth and the higher certainty of his own witness, Jesus brings Nicodemus to feel, by an *argumentum a minori ad majus* (vs. 12, cf. vi. 61,

62), how mean his faith's perception is, since he not even understands the occurrences that are taking place on the earth, in man, while he (Christ), and he alone (vs. 12, 13), can yet make known by virtue of his heavenly origin what is going on in heaven — the divine purposes. What are these *ἐπορράνια*? They are already prefigured in the brazen serpent (Num. xxi. 8, 9), just as, namely, Moses lifted up upon a stake the brazen serpent as a symbol of healing; so must, according to the divine purpose, the Son of Man be lifted up upon the cross, in order that every one that believes in him may have eternal life. The *tertium comparationis* is not only the external lifting up upon the cross, but the healing and animation through the one lifted up (cf. Num. xxi. 9). From this point the discourse takes anew another turn, and it is a greatly vexed question, whether what follows (vs. 16–21) are still words of Jesus, or not rather words of the Evangelist. But this question is of interest only under the pre-supposition that the foregoing contains the ipsissima verba of Jesus. But even if the Evangelist made the genuine words of Jesus (cf. vs. 3) his starting-point, there is yet no doubt at all, but that he passes over more and more from these into his own reflection and representation. The question here, therefore, is simply this: What is, according to the intention of the *Evangelist* the connection of vs. 16 ff. with the foregoing? Immediately before it was said, that the Son of Man is to be lifted up upon the cross, and that through faith in the one lifted up mankind is to have eternal life. This bestowal of his Son for the purpose of the salvation and the eternal life of the world is now shown forth as an *act of love* on the part of God, and to this is annexed the explanation that the Son of Man has come into the world not, as the Jewish opinion would have it, for Messianic penal judgment, but for the *saving* of the world (vs. 17). A *κρίσις* certainly is to be accomplished through him, but not a *κρίσις* that he himself makes, but one that consists in the revelation of those that are incapable of salvation or *afraid* of the light and insincere, and those that *rejoice* in the light and are sincere (vs. 18–21). This entire discourse

consists, therefore, of three parts: the adducing and the discussing of the γεννηθῆναι ἄνωθεν (vs. 3-9); the advancing from the ἐπίγεια, which Nicodemus does not understand, to the ἐπουράνια of the divine purpose of salvation, which he understands still less (vs. 10-15); and the representing of the divine counsel and will as *love*, and judgment only in so far as the sincere and the insincere *separate* spontaneously in the "light of the world" (vs. 16-21).

The three parts of the discourse.

51. Examples exhibiting Greater Difficulty.

In other Johannean discourses the course of thought is still more difficult; cf. John v. 19-47. The connection and the occasion are as follows: The healing on the Sabbath at the pool of Bethesda has just taken place, and is condemned by the Jewish guardians of the law. In justification of himself, Jesus replies: "My father worketh hitherto, namely, preserving and restoring, i.e. this maintaining activity of his knows no Sabbath, and so — namely, preserving and restoring life — I also work." This expression having been understood by his opponents as a presumptuous usurpation of equality with God on his part, there follows now that apologetico-polemic discourse. Jesus begins his defence by declaring that his activity does not proceed from usurping arbitrariness, since as Son he can do nothing else than what springs from filial communion with the Father (vs. 19, 20). This godlike activity of the Son now is in no way limited to instrumental action, but is explained (γάρ) by the fact that it consists in κρίνειν and ζωοποιεῖν, which, indeed, are the most peculiar acts of the Father, and it is added how the κρίνειν and the ζωοποιεῖν on the part of the Son are to be understood (vs. 21-27). Since now this claiming of divine prerogatives might awaken indignant astonishment, the speaker meets this astonishment through an argumentum a minori ad majus, which is at the same time an argumentum e concessis, that the awakening from the dead and the final judgment will, indeed, be also *his* work (vs. 28, 29). From this point the discourse takes, apparently, a more general turn, yet with the thought still kept in view, from which it started out, so that —

John v. 19-47. Occasion.

Explanation of his prerogative

instead of characterizing his activity more definitely — only his divine trustworthiness and the *truth of his testimony* are made prominent (vs. 30 ff.), which then, from vs. 37 onwards, gradually passes over into polemics against his adversaries.

Proof of his
trustworthiness.

His trustworthiness he proves, 1) through the witness of the Father (vs. 31, 32), 2) through the witness of John the Baptist, which even *they* must know and recognize, of which, however, he had no need for himself (33-35), since his *εργα* constitute the proper proof of the truth of his testimony. Here the discourse gradually glides over from the apologetic into the *polemic* (vs. 37 ff.). This polemics consists in his reproaching his adversaries with ignorance of the Father who bears witness for the Son (vs. 37, 38), ignorance or rather a dead knowledge of the Scriptures (vs. 39, 40), and especially — with all their zeal for God's honor — deficiency in love for God, and hence in ability to appreciate purely unselfish speaking and acting (vs. 41-44). In conclusion, it is maintained against them that precisely *Moses*, upon whom they always prop themselves, and yet in whom, at bottom, they do not believe, will be their accuser (vs. 45-47). This discourse admits of no resolution into different parts, but exhibits only more or less observable turns; these are found chiefly in vs. 30 ff., when the apologetic tone passes over more and more into the polemic, yet so that in vs. 30-36 the apologetic still predominates, in vs. 37 to the end, the polemic. (On the fundamental thought, see below).

Conclusion.

No clear
divisions.

52. Apparent Incongruities.

But the course of thought may also offer a peculiar difficulty from the fact that the discourse at the end seems to presuppose another object or reference to other persons than in the beginning; cf. John viii. 31-44. The difficulty here may be more accurately defined by remarking, that while the discourse at its beginning is directed to believers (cf. vs. 30, 31), in its progress and at its end it is directed to the most decided opponents, without any intimation having been given of a change of the audience. (We confine ourselves to vs. 31-44, not as if the

John viii.
31-44.

discourse ended with vs. 44, but because there it attains to its polemic climax). The difficulty would be, in fact, insuperable, if we did not know that πιστεύειν with our Evangelist is a very elastic idea, cf. ii. 23 f.; x. 38; xiv. 11. At all events πιστεύειν here in vs. 30 and 31 cannot have the usual pregnant meaning. The dispute itself first receives this character through the opposition of the Jews, vs. 33 and 39. The beginning (vs. 31, 32) contains as yet nothing polemic, but only the exhortation to continue in his word, because only thus will they know the truth that makes free, etc. Jesus, therefore, really regards it as uncertain whether the impression of his words upon these πεπιστευκότες is fundamental and permanent, and presupposes that, although now believing, they may not yet have known the truth and not yet have been emancipated thereby. But the implication that they are first *to become free*, is injurious to their theocratic self-esteem, and this injured national pride goes so far, that they maintain, in the face of all the facts of the case, that they need not to *become* free, since they have never been in bondage. Since they understand bondage and freedom only externally, Jesus explains to them (vs. 34-36) what kind of bondage and freedom he means. But now follows the difficult expression: . . . ζητεῖτέ με ἀποκτείνειν, The difficult expression. ὅτι ὁ λόγος ὃ ἐμὸς οὐ χωρεῖ ἐν ὑμῖν. (On the latter expression cf. § 29). How can it be said to those who have yet at least had a beginning of faith ζητεῖτέ με ἀποκτείνειν? ¹ According to the Evangelist a divine knowledge, penetrating the hearts of men, belongs to Jesus, cf. i. 48, 49; ii. 24, 25. By virtue of this knowledge he knows not only their insusceptibility, but also the consequences thereof: aversion towards that which they do not apprehend, the enhancing of this aversion to positive hatred and to murderous thoughts; cf. 1 John iii. 15. Since, therefore, the Jews had appealed to their derivation from Abraham, Jesus holds before them the contradiction between

¹ To the critic it is very convenient here to say, that the difficulty is to be attributed entirely to "thoughtlessness" on the part of the Evangelist; but it is incumbent upon the exegete to go to his author with the presupposition that he means to speak rationally.

their sonship to Abraham and the murderous thoughts slumbering in them, and refers these thoughts to *another* pater-nity, which he does not yet name, but still keeps in petto, vs. 37-41. Not until the Jews in blunt misunderstanding of Jesus's expression represent themselves not only as children of Abraham, but also as children of God (vs. 41), does he have every reason to show them the contradiction, much greater still, between their affirmed filial relation to God and their disposition. This contradiction consists, first of all, in the fact that they—the pretended children of God—do not understand at all the divine words of Jesus (vs. 42, 43), a failure to understand which can spring only from *opposition* to God, from the devil; and now the word is uttered, which he has been long preparing for: "You are of your father the devil," etc. In this scene, therefore, it is shown how even "faith," if the impure motive in the heart is discovered, is changed into its opposite.

53. Another Example.

Gal. ii. 14-21 Another example of disputed course of thought is Gal. ii. 14-21. The difficulty consists in the fact that—while vs. 14 and 15, the words of Paul spoken in Antioch, evidently refer to *Peter*—the discourse at a later point passes over entirely into the track of the explanation to be given to the *Galatians* of justification through faith, without the slightest break being visible. We must disregard entirely the dogmatic interest which now and then has mingled in the explanation. The connection, an understanding of which is here of special importance, is as follows: Peter had visited the Gentile Christian church in Antioch, at whose head Paul and Barnabas stood, and—although a Jew (vs. 14), and an apostle to the Jews (vs. 9)—yet had not scrupled to sit at meat with the Gentile Christians, which seems to have been a concession on his part. But now came emissaries of the James party from Jerusalem, rigorous Judaists, who so awed Peter with their Judaistic consistency, that he withdrew and separated himself from the Gentile Christians. Here in the eyes of the Jacobine party

Statement
of the diffi-
culty.

Connection

Peter's inconsistency and ὑπόκρισις had consisted in the fact that he had associated with the Gentile Christians, who to *them* were essentially *Gentiles*; but to Paul Peter's inconsistency and hypocrisy consisted in the fact, that he now separated himself from the Gentile Christians, who to him were essentially *Christians*, and through his apostolic authority with this scrupulous separation of his had awed even Barnabas. This is the situation, an understanding of which is necessary for the explanation of what follows. First of all, now, we are to take what is undisputed as our starting-point, namely, the apostrophe to Peter (vs. 14, 15): If thou, says Paul, though a Jew, livest as a Gentile, i.e. sittest at meat with those born Gentiles, without giving place to Jewish scruples, with what right dost thou compel (i.e. morally, through thine example) those born Gentiles to Judaize, i.e. to believe, that the distinction between Jew and Gentile, and the observance of this distinction, is the principal thing? Now we expect after the negative something positive, and this follows in fact; but the question is whether what follows belongs to the address to Peter or not. If it does, then everything that follows must also be understood in the same way, since, if there is a break anywhere, it is between vs. 14 and 15. If *not*, then the apostrophe to Peter seems to be broken off abruptly, and to lack the positive filling out. First of all, it is to be seen which of the two explanations gives the better sense. Under the first presupposition we gain from vs. 15 and 16 the following sense: "We — thou and I — although by nature Jews (= legally righteous), and not Gentile sinners, yet convinced, that man is not justified by means of the works of the law, — nay *even we* (emphatically resuming), i.e. thou and I, have become believers in Christ," etc. In other terms, the fact, that we have become believers in Christ, is proof of our conviction, that justification springs not from the works of the law (as, e.g. the observance of the distinction between Jew and Gentile is such a work). A very good thought! only it is decisive against it 1) that vs. 15 begins without any conjunctions, not even with δέ; 2) that

The apostrophe to Peter.

The sense, under the supposition that vs. 15 ff. refer to Peter.

The sense under the supposition that vs. 15 ff. refer to the Galatians.

A third possibility.

we have to bring much into the text; and 3) that vs. 17 is closely connected with vs. 16, and likewise what follows with vs. 17, while no further reference at all appears to person and occasion. If we make the attempt to explain the discourse under the pre-supposition that vs. 15 ff. no longer belong to the discourse of Paul directed to Peter, the proposition receives a *general*, more dogmatic sense, although by virtue of an often occurring *μετασχηματισμός*, expressed as Paul's personal experience. This explanation has in its favor, 1) that — if the discourse of Paul to Peter is to be broken off anywhere — here is the only suitable place; 2) that nothing needs to be brought into the proposition, vs. 15 and 16, and 3) that in this case vs. 17 ff. are connected with what precedes. Against this view, however, is always the abruptness of the words vs. 14, and the still always undeniable absence of a clear break. But there is still a third possibility, viz. that the discourse to Peter continues to vs. 21. Thus is a far closer connection not only between vs. 14 and 15, but also between vs. 16 and 17 ff., supposed; vs. 17: "if we — thou and I — who seek to be justified through Christ, ourselves also be found as sinners (i.e. as Gentiles), then would follow the blasphemous proposition that Christ would be not a minister of righteousness, but a minister of sin. Vs. 18: Since if I set up again as steadfast and valid that which I have proved to be invalid (the Mosaical law), I constitute myself a transgressor, i.e. one who condemns his former actions." Now follows in vs. 19 and 20 an *argument ex eventu*: ("I do not set up again the abolished law), for I have died to law, but so that a *new* life, the life of Christ in me, has begun.¹ Vs. 21: I do not set aside the grace of God (which would be the case if I set up the law again as efficacious), for if righteousness before God comes from the observance of the law, then the redeeming and justifying death of Christ has been in vain (groundless, cf. John xv. 25; LXX, Ps. xxxiv. 7)." This third view has in its favor, that 1) a clear break

¹ The Greek literally translated reads: "For I through law died to law, that I might live to God." — TR.

is nowhere to be shown, and 2) in chap. iii. 1 there is an energetic resumption of the address to the Galatians. It has against it 1) that vs. 15-21, but particularly vs. 17 ff., exhibits no personal reference to Peter, and has not at all the character of an apostrophe. The most probable conclusion is, **Conclusion** therefore, *either* that the apostrophe to Peter ends with vs. 14, *or*, that it reaches to vs. 21, in which latter case the unobserved transition to the didactic tone is explicable from the fact that what Paul had to say to Peter is applicable also to the Galatians.

54. Concluding Remark.

We see, accordingly, there are examples in which the inquiry as to the course of thought designed by the author is not to be answered with perfect certainty. In that case the exegete has to hold himself to the correct method, i.e. to the following rules: 1) **Rules.** First of all he must pay close attention to the *connection*, i.e. to the persons who come into consideration, to the situation that is presupposed in the disputable discourse; 2) attention must be paid to the sections, or if such are wanting, to the *turns of the discourse*, and the discourse must be grouped according to these, in which procedure we are to guard against applying categories or points of view that are foreign to the author; 3) If the discourse shows incongruity either in its contents or in its tone, or finally, in the presupposed situation, we are to ascertain whether anywhere a break, or if not, a turn of discourse enters, and where such is found, and wherein it consists; 4) there are, finally, cases where, even after the application of all exegetical means, no undisputed result can be attained; in such cases we are never to set up a plausible result as if it were quite assured, to be adhered to at all hazards, but we are to be content to set up what is *most probable* under the confirmation appertaining thereto.

c) *The Discovery of the Intention and the Fundamental Thought of a Section.*

a) *The Discovery of the Fundamental Thought of a Parable.*¹

55. Errors in the Explanation of Parables.

Sources of blunders.

The intention to be sought out first of all.

Many parables, as, e.g. that of the Sower, that of the Servant who would not forgive his fellow-servant, that of the entrusted Talents, that of the Mustard-seed and the Leaven, are clear enough. Others, however, are either altogether or in particular parts of more disputed interpretation, or have received erroneous interpretations. The most important blunders in the explanation of the parables are: that the object of the parable is determined merely according to one part; that the explanation of the single features is carried too far (more seldom is the neglect of such a feature); that too much effort has been made to explain the personalities of a parable or the parable itself historically; that men have not been content with the clear and simple intention, but have sought behind this still a hidden sense. These and other errors in the explanations of the parables have their ground in the fact that the *intention* of the parables has not been sought out first of all, and from this as a basis the single parts and features explained. Only from the intention and the fundamental thought, moreover, are the difficulties with which the explanation of several parables is beset, to be removed. From these alone is the question to be answered, What in a parable belongs to the doctrinal contents, and what to the mere delineation? From these it is to be determined how far in general one should go in the explanation of a parable, and what oversteps the lawful measure. From this is light to be gained for cases in which there seems to be a gap between the contents of the simile and the given explanation, or where the simile itself seems to be devoid of unity.

56. Media for ascertaining the Drift.

But how are the drift and the fundamental thought of a parable to be ascertained? An important help is the state-

¹ Cf. *Trench, Parables.* — Tr.

ment of the *occasion*, where there is such. This is pre-eminently the case with Luke, who not only gives parables with an intimation of the occasion, which are wanting with the other Evangelists, as the account of the merciful Samaritan, of the Lazy Friend, who yet finally yields to entreaty, of the Judge and the poor Widow, of the Prodigal Son ; but also furnishes occasions of parables that stand in Matthew without such occasions, as in the parables of the Feast to which many were invited and that of the Talents entrusted to servants. Another important medium of explanation is either the *interpretation* given, or in default of such, the *concluding sentence*. An indication or explanation proper is found in the case of the parable of the Sower, in that of the Tares among the Wheat ; an explanatory or inferential concluding sentence in the parable of the Lazy Friend (Luke xi. 5-13), of the Rich Man, whose fields brought forth plentifully (Luke xii. 13-21), of the Unjust Steward (Luke xvi. 1 ff.), of the Debtor who would not forgive his fellow-servant (Matt. xviii. 23 ff.), of the Laborers in the Vineyard (Matt. xx. 1 ff.), of the Treacherous Husbandmen (Matt. xxi. 33 ff., Par.), of the Ten Virgins (Matt. xxv. 1 ff.). But cases also occur where neither an explanatory connection nor an explanatory concluding aphorism is given, as in the account of Dives and Lazarus (Luke xvi. 19 ff.), not to mention those that are clear enough in themselves ; or where an incongruous relation seems to exist between the appended concluding sentence and the parable itself, as in the parable of the Unjust Steward (Luke xvi. 1 ff.). In many cases, therefore, we are thrown back simply upon the *contents of the parable itself*. But in all cases the contents themselves are an essential factor for the discovery of the fundamental thought, along with the connection, indeed, or the occasion, the most indispensable factor. Where it is possible, all three helps — the connection, the contents, and the concluding explanation — must be applied. Where one or the other of these is wanting, we must, at least, neglect no one of the means that *are given*.

The appended interpretation and the concluding sentence.

Contents of the parable itself.

57. Application of the Media.

How these media of explanation are to be applied to the discovery of the fundamental thought a few examples will show. The *occasion or the connection* is chiefly determinative, yet regard must be had at the same time to the contents and the explanatory application. Yet we are not to conclude without further examination from the fact that Luke furnishes, e.g. an occasion for the parable of the Feast and that of the Talents, that the corresponding parables in Matthew have the same drift. The parable of the Feast (Luke xiv. 16-24), according to the connection in Luke,—where the exhortation precedes, not to invite rich friends and neighbors, but the poor and the wretched,—is meant to show how the same arrangement prevails in the kingdom of God, that precisely the needy and neglected, and not those that appear to be especially called thereunto, become partakers of the good things of the house of God. It is otherwise in Matthew in the corresponding parable of the Royal Marriage (xxii. 1-16). Here the parable of the Treacherous Husbandmen and the threat against the Jewish theocrats, that the kingdom of God shall be taken away from them and given to others, had preceded. The parable agrees with that in Luke in the essential feature, that those first called show themselves unworthy, and on the other hand that the lowly and despised become partakers of the feast. But while in Luke the reference is to the distinction between rich and poor, in Matthew it applies more definitely to the contrast between the unworthy theocrats and the publicans and heathen. But the most essential difference lies in the fact that in Matthew there is found even among the guests of the Lord an unworthy person. The self-exclusion of those first called, as well as the exclusion of the unworthy guest, illustrates the truth spoken as a concluding sentence: Many are called, few are chosen. The parable of the entrusted Talents stands in Matthew (xxv. 14-30) without especial occasion, merely as a part of the eschatological discourses, but in Luke (xix. 11-27) an occasion is furnished, viz. that much people followed Jesus on his jour-

The occasion given in one Gospel not necessarily to be applied to another.

Parable of the Feast.

Parable of the Royal Marriage.

Parable of the Talents.

ney from Jericho to Jerusalem, in the expectation that the kingdom of God was about to appear. The parable which in both places contains the general doctrine, that in the kingdom of God fidelity is the chief thing, has in Luke the more definite intention, to show that the kingdom of God is not reward and luxury, not the presence of carnal hope, but fidelity in little things. How important the consideration of the connection is, in conjunction with the concluding sentence, may be illustrated most clearly by the parable of the Prodigal Son (Luke xv. 11-32). Many have thought, on the ground of the first part, that the "mercy of God towards lost sinners" must be taken as the fundamental thought. In this case the second part of the parable (vs. 25-32) would be a mere appendix, which, especially on account of the emphatic conclusion, "... we should make merry and be glad; for this thy brother was dead," etc., is extremely improbable. This conclusion clearly refers to the beginning and the occasion (vs. 1, 2): "Then drew near unto Jesus publicans and sinners; but the Pharisees murmured." To this relate the two little parables of the Lost Sheep and of the Penny, together with the applicatory aphorism; "There is joy in heaven over one sinner that repenteth." And that the parable of the Prodigal Son relates to sinners and the self-righteous Pharisees, — and has no other fundamental thought than this: that the conversion of a lost brother should much more be made a matter of *rejoicing*, as the father rejoices — the connection, in conjunction with the concluding sentence, proves. Sometimes interpreters have not been content with the sense of a parable that is clearly apparent, but have thought to find behind this still a deeper sense, as in the account of the Compassionate Samaritan (Luke x. 30-37). The one who fell among thieves has, namely, been referred to those that have fallen under the destructive power of sin, the priests and the Levites to the law, which has no help for the unfortunate, and the Samaritan to Christ. But the connection leaves us not a moment in doubt as to the true intention of the narrative: A doctor of the law, having inquired of Jesus as to the way

Parable of
the Prodi-
gal Son.

Spiritualiz-
ing of Para-
bles.

The Good
Samaritan.

to eternal life, had, in reply to his counter-question, correctly defined the sum of the law as love to God and one's neighbor; since, now, Jesus had replied that he has the right knowledge, and that if he will also carry out his knowledge into action he will become partaker of the eternal life, the doctor of the law, who would not let this confounding answer rest upon himself, rejoins: *This is the question, Who is the neighbor that is to be loved?* The parable thus has no other intention than just to show this. This is also perfectly confirmed by Jesus's concluding question: "Which of these three was the neighbor of him that fell among thieves?" *Not always, however, is the occasion definite and the connection clear.* For example, the parable of the Laborers in the Vineyard (Matt. xx. 1-16) is joined with the preceding simply by the aphorism, "Many first shall be last," etc. (cf. xix. 30 with xx. 16); but this sentence evidently has not in both places precisely the same sense: the former passage relates to the foregoing promise, and contains a limiting definition; the latter passage, similar in language, is, on the other hand, a confirmation of what was said in the parable, that those called first and apparently worthiest shall be treated in the reckoning as the last, and those called later and who have less claim to make shall be treated as the first. The parable of the Treacherous Husbandmen (Matt. xxi. 33 ff. Par.) is motivated only in a general way through the foregoing discussion with the Pharisees; so also the parable of the Royal Marriage, whose parallel in Luke moreover has another setting, is connected, indeed, by means of the foregoing inferences with the parable of the Treacherous Husbandmen; but this connection is only general, and refers not at all to precisely what is specific in the foregoing parable. Most questionable of all is the connection of the otherwise difficult account of the Rich Man and Poor Lazarus (Luke xvi. 19-31). That there is no connection with what immediately precedes is clear as noon-day. To find anything corresponding we must go back to vs. 14 and 15. The detached aphorisms vs. 16-18 may, of course, be passed over, and the parable may be annexed to vs. 15. In this case we

Cases in which occasion and connection are obscure.
Parable of the Laborers.

Parable of the Husbandmen.

Parable of the Royal Marriage.

Parable of Dives and Lazarus.

get the following connection: After Jesus had said (vs. 13) that men cannot serve God and mammon, the rich Pharisees, who—as often happened—knew how best of all to unite the service of God with the service of mammon, turned up their noses at him, the pauper, and thought: *hinc illae lacrymae!* In order now to put a damper on their pride of wealth—which had a support in their pretended piety—and their spiritual pride—which had a support in their opulence—he relates this parable, in which wealth and future blessedness are brought into the sharpest opposition. Cf. below.

58. Cases of Appended Interpretation, etc.

Often *no occasion* is given, not even *any connection* that could be of service to the explanation, but, indeed, an *appended interpretation*, an inferential or parenetic *concluding sentence*.

We rarely find, indeed, a statement of the fundamental thought, but rather an explanation of individual leading features or personalities, as in the parable of the Sower and the Tares: Matt. xiii. 24–30 coll. 37–43. But from the explanation of these individual features the fundamental thought is to be derived,

Explanation of leading features

viz. that the separation of the good and the bad is not to be rashly accomplished by men, but is to be first accomplished in the time of the consummation of all things through the messengers of God. Often a brief, inferential or exhortatory concluding sentence is appended, which, indeed, is not the fundamental thought itself, but may point back to the fundamental thought, as in the parables of the Treacherous Husbandmen (Matt. xxi. 33–39 Par.), of the Ten Virgins (Matt. xxv. 1–13),

Concluding sentence.

of the Good Samaritan (Luke x. 30–37), which, however, is already sufficiently motivated through the occasion given (see above); and also in the parables of the Laborers in the Vineyard (Matt. xx. 1–16) and of the Royal Marriage (Matt. xxii. 1–16). But not unfrequently this concluding sentence expresses not the *whole* object or fundamental thought of the parable; e.g. the drift of the parable of the Fishing-net (Matt. xiii. 47–50) is not exhausted by the thought, that at the end of the days the good and the bad shall be separated, since the

Examples.

Partial explanation.

Seeming incongruity.

mingling of the good and the evil is not here, as in the parable of the Tares, accomplished by the adversary, but by the action of the net, i.e. of the soul-winning gospel itself. Neither is the drift of the parable of the Royal Marriage (Matt. xxii. 1-16) exhausted in the aphorism, "Many are called, few are chosen," since the parable treats not of calling in general, but of the calling to the good things and joys of the kingdom of heaven. Sometimes the concluding sentence seems *incongruous* with the intention of the parable. Cf. the concluding proposition in the account of the Good Samaritan (Luke x. 36), "Which of the three seems to thee to have been the neighbor of him that fell among the thieves?" We should rather expect the question "To whom among the three is he that fell among the thieves the neighbor?" For the question of the lawyer was: "Who then is my neighbor," sc. to whom am I required to show love? But this sceptical question is transmuted by Jesus into a practical question of conscience, as if he meant to say: "Spend no time in *asking* who thy neighbor is, but *act* — like this Samaritan — as a neighbor! Even in the parable of the Ten Virgins (Matt. xxv. 1-13), the concluding exhortation to watching does not seem entirely in accord with the contents, since not the foolish alone have fallen asleep, but also the wise. The word *γρηγορεῖτε* cannot thus refer to mere waking, but must contain a negation of that through which the foolish have differed from the wise, i.e. forethought and readiness must rather be meant thereby; yet at the same time, doubtless, reference is also made to the danger of sleeping in momentous times. But what if *several* applications or concluding sentences are given, as in the parable of the Unjust Steward (Luke xvi. 1-8 f.)? Here it is said first of all that the children of the world are wiser than the children of the light; secondly, the exhortation follows, to make friends with the unrighteous mammon (vs. 9); then it is said, he that is faithful in little is faithful also in much (vs. 10-12), and finally, the aphorism is appended: "No man can serve two masters" (vs. 13), which some separate from what precedes. Here arises the question,

Cases where several applications are given.

which among these appended aphorisms contains the true teaching of the parable, in other words, whether the parable is intended as a discussion on prudence or on fidelity; if the *former*, how is the exhortation to fidelity related to this? But what is particularly offensive is the fact that the steward, who not only squandered his master's goods, but also through open deceit insinuated himself into the favor of his master's debtors, is set up as a model for emulation. If only the context contained something explanatory, or the contents itself were clearer! but in both these respects we are left completely in the dark; for with regard to the context, there is no logical connection at all between the parable of the Prodigal Son and the one under discussion; only the indication (vs. 1) that the latter is addressed to the *disciples* is a hint worthy of notice. Of the appended inferences, the first (vs. 8) must at all events be most immediately connected with the parable itself, and must express most accurately its fundamental thought, while the following contain only applications and inferences. The most immediate thing is the praise of *prudence*, and in this the unjust steward is certainly given to the disciples as a model. But the steward is prudent as a child of the *world*; the disciples, however, are to be prudent as children of the *light*. The parable contains an argumentum e contrario, as the parable of the Unjust Judge and the Widow (Luke xviii. 1-8), and that of the Lazy Friend (Luke xi. 5 ff.), and the meaning intended is: If the *unjust* steward, as a child of the world, is praised on account of his prudence, how much more should you, *just* stewards and children of the *light*, be prudent! But wherein consists the prudence which the children of the light are to practise? First, *like* the unjust steward, in making themselves friends with the mammon, i.e. in bestowing this for benevolent objects (vs. 9); secondly, in being faithful in little and external things, *otherwise* than the unjust steward, because only then can they be entrusted also with great and spiritual things (vs. 10-12). How, now, is vs. 13 connected? "Ye will show yourselves faithful in little as in great things only by not serv-

ing two masters, by considering little things, mammon, only as entrusted to your keeping, not as your *true good*, but him that is in heaven."

59. The Contents of the Parable itself.

The con-
tents often
adequate.

Apparent
heterogene-
ousness.

The fundamental thought is, of course, never to be derived from the mere context, nor from the mere concluding application, but always at the same time from the *contents of the parable* itself. Often this is altogether adequate, as in the parables of the New Patches and the Old Garment, of the New Wine and the Old Bottles, of the Mustard-seed and the Leaven (Matt. xiii. 31-34), of the Hidden Treasure and the Pearl (Matt. xiii. 44-46), of the Hard-hearted Creditor (Matt. xviii. 23-35), of the Rich Man whose field was productive (Luke xii. 16-21), of the Unfruitful Fig-tree (Luke xiii. 6-9), of the Seed that grows unobserved (Mark iv. 26-29), of the Talents entrusted to servants (Matt. xxv. 14-30). But now and then it is just the contents that makes the difficulty, whether it be that it contains features that seem *heterogeneous* or that the parable in general is *wanting in unity*. In the parable of the Royal Marriage in Matthew, features occur that seem to be foreign to the principal drift thereof, viz. that the guests first invited not only declined the invitation, but killed, indeed, the servants, as a punishment for which act their cities are burned; so also the affair of the guest that had not on the wedding garment,—two features that are wanting in the corresponding parable in Luke.¹ As regards the first feature, which evidently refers to the Jerusalemites, murderers of the prophets, and to the destruction of the city, this is one of those sharp polemic thrusts against the Jewish hierarchs. The other feature would certainly be heterogeneous if the intention of the parable were the same as in Luke; but while in Luke the fundamental thought is the calling of the lowly and despised, in Matthew the fundamental thought is this, that in general not all that are

¹ In such cases it is the *critic's* work to prove whether two different parables have not flowed together. But the *exegete as such* has to take what lies before him, and explain it as it is.

called to the good things of the kingdom of heaven are chosen guests. The parable of the Prodigal Son, among others, appears to want unity, since it consists evidently of two parts, of which the first (vs. 11-24) relates the history of the younger son, and the second (vs. 25-32) that of the elder son. Even although the fundamental thought is that expressed in vs. 32 (see above), yet the younger appears to be the principal character. This is also really the case, and this also contradicts neither the fundamental thought nor the unity of the parable, for the fundamental idea of the parable is not "that one should not murmur about the brother that was lost and was found again," but that it should be made a matter of *rejoicing*; and the motive of this joy is given in the first part, in the wretchedness and the conversion of the lost one. Most clearly of all does lack of unity appear in the parable of the Rich Man and Poor Lazarus (Luke xvi. 19-31), and this is not the least among the sundry difficulties with which this parable is beset. Is the lot of the poor man and that of the rich man in the world to come the principal thing? or is instruction with reference to this future life itself the essential feature (vs. 23-26)? or is the intention of the parable expressed in the conclusion (vs. 31)? The second must be entirely withdrawn, since everything that is said about the future life in a descriptive way, is said with reference to the lots of the rich man and the poor man, and since the expression vs. 25 has a somewhat determinative and exclusive character. There remains, therefore, only the question, whether the true intention of the account is contained in the first part or in the last. The latter view seems to be supported by the concluding sentence, "If they hear not Moses and the prophets, neither will they be convinced in case one should rise from the dead." But how would the *first* part be related to this? As the prayer of the rich man says that his brothers would be converted through a miraculous resurrection, so the objection of Abraham says substantially, that Moses and the prophets are sufficient for conversion and for warning against the place of torment; in other terms, that

Apparent
lack of
unity.

they cannot excuse themselves on the ground of ignorance if the same fate should befall them as their brother. But what is here said of the brothers applies to the rich man himself: neither has he from ignorance and undeservedly come into the place of torment. What now is the object of this? In the first part it had appeared as if the rich man undeservedly, merely because he was rich, had come into the place of torment; the ethical element was entirely in the back-ground; in the second part, now, this is brought up, and the fate of those that are in this case, or come into this case, is shown to be *deserved*. But the principal thought is still *retribution*, as expressed in vs. 25. That this retribution, however, is not merely a passive compensation, but a compensation conditioned by failure to listen to the word of God, is the thought of the concluding sentence.

60. Attention to the Personalities.

Only after the intention of a parable has been ascertained, especially in difficult cases, can we infer the significance of the personalities, as well as answer the important question: *What in a parable belongs to the doctrinal contents, and what is mere delineation?* The personalities are difficult only in a few cases. In the parable of the Prodigal Son it is clear that the younger son represents "sinners," the elder son, the self-righteous; in the parable of the Laborers in the Vineyard there can be no doubt but that those first called, and who prop themselves on their rights, are the Jews, and those called late and enjoying freely the goods of the Lord are the Gentiles; that in the parable of the Royal Marriage those first invited and malignant refer to the hierarchs, the poor and neglected afterwards called, to the publicans and sinners and to the Gentiles, is also perfectly evident. The determination of the personalities in the parable of the Unjust Steward is more difficult. But just here much error has arisen and the confusion has been increased by the circumstance, that — instead of making the determination of the fundamental thought the starting-point — men have taken as the starting-point

Personalities difficult only in a few cases.

Personalities in the Parable of the Unjust Steward.

hypothetical determinations of the personalities. Under the assumption of the intention of the parable given above the view must be given up that the *πλούσιος* is God, since not only is the word *πλούσιος* scarcely ever used in a good sense in the New Testament, but the *οἰκόνομος* as *υἱὸς τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου* and the guardian of the *μαμωνᾶς τῆς ἀδικίας* cannot be represented as the steward of God. One of the most important and most delicate questions, regarding the explanation of the parable, is: What in the parables belongs *to the doctrinal contents* and what *to the mere delineation*?—a question that is not to be answered according to mere caprice or subjective taste, but on the ground of the intention of the parable. No passage is in this relation more instructive than that of the Prodigal Son. The fundamental thought that one should rejoice over the brother that was lost and is found again, presupposes the going astray and the being found; and, in the elaboration of the parable, a description of the way and manner of both these occurrences. What, therefore, serves to illustrate, *how* a man goes astray, belongs to the doctrinal contents: thus not only the departure from the paternal roof and the squandering of his inheritance, but also the circumstance that just when he had consumed his property a famine sets in, and that he is dependent on a citizen of that country, and has to keep the swine, but withal suffers bitter hunger, i.e. that the sinner before he can persuade himself to return to the father seeks for help in the *world*, but in the service of the world must perform the most menial service, and thereby come only into deeper and deeper distress, is an integral element of the doctrinal contents. To the return and the being found belongs the fact, that only when he has come into the greatest distress he meditates upon his condition and determines to return to the father, but in the feeling of his unworthiness, lays claim merely to the position of a day laborer; to this also belongs the fact that the father goes to meet him, and before he has time to speak, embraces him in his arms. Neither is the circumstance mere delineation that the father has him arrayed in his best garments and

Doctrinal
contents,
and deline-
ation.

Parable of
the Prodi-
gai Son.

Parable of
the Hus-
bandmen.

with a finger-ring, for it belongs to the father's joy over him that was found again, that he should establish him again in all his filial dignity. On the other hand, it is an extreme perversion to refer the slaughtered calf to Christ. In the parable of the Treacherous Husbandmen, it is not a mere matter of delineation, when it is said that the possessor of the vineyard, before he delivered it to the husbandmen, enclosed it with a hedge and built a tower upon it, since it is thus shown that the landlord was careful that the vineyard of the kingdom of God might be worked in all security. On the other hand, it would be going too far to refer the hedge specially to the law and the tower to prophecy, since it only lay in the intention of the parable to tell us that he was careful for the security and protection of the kingdom of God, but not through what means

Parable of
the Hidden
Treasure.

this was accomplished. In the parable of the Hidden Treasure it is not a mere matter of delineation, that the treasure is found *accidentally*, and that it was discovered by the finder in the *field in which he was working*, as also that he must buy the

Parable of
the Must-
ard-seed.

land in order to come into possession of the treasure. On the other hand, it would be a perversion, in the parable of the Mustard-seed, to refer the birds that nestle in the tree to the converted heathen, while they are merely intended as an illustration of the greatness of the growth. In the parable of the

Parable of
the Unjust
Steward.

Unjust Steward it is not a mere matter of delineation, but an essential point, that the *οἰκόνομος* seeks to free himself from embarrassment, and that the means that he embraces have for their object to win over the poor as the possessors of the "everlasting habitations." But the special way and manner in which he seeks to win them, belongs not at all to the doctrinal contents of the parable. The question, What belongs to the doctrine and what to the delineation in a parable, is, therefore, to be answered thus: *What ministers to the fundamental thought or the intention of a parable belongs to the doctrinal contents; but what does not minister thereto is mere delineation.*

Rule.

61. Parables Seemingly Incomplete.

Now and then a parable still leaves *room for a question.*

E.g. in the parable of the Sower, the wayside, the stony ground, the thorn seeds, and the good soil are given in an absolute way, and it appears, therefore, as if insusceptibility, inconstancy, etc., were a mere fatality. To show whether and how far these defective conditions are deserved, lay not, however, in the intention of the parable. These conditions for Jesus, the Sower, *κατ' ἐξ.*, were certainly something granted, and also for the hearers they had become fatality, cf. v. 14, 15 and Par., which, to be sure, was grounded in their dispositions. The concluding sentence of the parable of the Royal Marriage (Matt. xxii. 16), "Many are called, but few are chosen," leaves unanswered the question in what sense the word *ἐκλεκτοί* is here to be taken. The word itself appears to point to an original divine purpose, as if the contemptuous rejection of the invitation, as well as the wedding garment wanting to one of the guests, were something foreseen and designed by the lord of the house. But this is incongruous with the whole contents of the parable: not only is any reference of this kind wanting in the whole course of the parable, but such a thought would alter the whole intention thereof. The word *ἐκλεκτοί* is rather to be understood *ex eventu*, and designates those that have *proved* themselves worthy of the calling. The same sense also would this aphorism have in chap. xx. 16, where the Textus Receptus and Lachmann have it, but Tischendorf, on the authority of Cod. Vat., Sinaït., and some other witnesses, omits it. With reference to the parable of the Prodigal Son, it has often been wondered why the acceptance and the pardon of the prodigal son is not represented as mediated through Christ. But on the one hand, it lay outside of the intention of the parable to show *how*, and in what way this pardon took place, since merely the return of the son and the joy of the father were to be set forth; on the other hand, a glance at the occasion and at the parables of the Lost Sheep and Penny, teaches that Jesus regarded the coming to him *eo ipso* as a coming to the Father, and his acceptance of the sinner *eo ipso* as the acceptance of the sinner on the part of the Father. In gen-

Parable of
the Sower.Parable of
the Royal
Marriage.Parable of
the Prodi-
gal Son.

Rule. eral it may be observed, *that what seems to be missing in a parable is either to be understood of itself, or else lies without the intention of the parable.*

62. The Johannean Parables.

**The Johan-
nean para-
bles, allego-
ries.** There still remain to be treated the altogether differently formed *Johannean parables*. These differ from the synoptic

**Allegory of
the Good
Shepherd.** parables in the fact that they are allegories, i.e. delineations, and not narratives, and that they have for their contents Christ

**Christ as
the "door
of the
sheep."** himself in relation to his people. The clearest of all is the allegory of the Good Shepherd (x. 11-18) where the tertium

**Allegory of
the Vine
and its
Branches.** comparationis is the faithful and sacrificing care for his own. More difficult is the allegory that immediately follows, of Christ as the "door of the sheep." These are regarded as

enclosed in a fold, therefore, as an aggregate whole. But the leading thought is the difference between those that come to the shepherd's office in the right way and those that come in the wrong way and with evil intent. Likewise, in the parable of the Good Shepherd, the difference between him and the hireling is the principal thought. But what is now the tertium comparationis between Christ and the door? Evidently, Jesus means by the *ἐγώ* not so much his person as his disposition, which is clearly set forth in the antithesis. The allegory of the Vine and its Branches, finally (xv. 1-6), is distinguished by the fact, that the relation between Christ and his own is represented not merely as an ethical communion, but as a physical connection. The question then arises, whether this physical communion is meant to be taken literally, or whether it is only a figurative representation of the ethical communion. But there is sufficient ground for understanding literally that essential connection between Christ and his people. In this we are confirmed, namely, by the allegory itself; for if we understand this connection figuratively, there would be no reason why Jesus, if he meant to speak of the relation between himself and his disciples would have delineated this relation precisely *thus*. The parenetic element of the allegory also (vs. 4, "Abide in me," etc., and vs. 5, "Without me ye can do nothing," just as

vs. 6) points to just this kind of communion. In conjunction with the intention of the allegory to be derived from the language itself, the fact that the Evangelist elsewhere also, though in another relation, represents this union as a mystical one (iv. 14; vi. 35, 48 ff.), has the same bearing.

β) *The Intention of other Doctrinal Sections.*

63. Method of Procedure.

We can here treat only of such passages as exhibit more or less an organic whole. But whether this is the case must, after the ascertainment of the fundamental thought (§ 49-54), be the first question. Neither is a single pervasive fundamental thought to be maintained in a given section at all hazards, especially if we are compelled, to this end, to apply definitions of thought foreign to the author; nor are we in a superficial manner to renounce a unity of the fundamental thought, if this does not readily appear. Thus also it would be an error, if the *critical* question, e.g. whether Jesus delivered a given discourse in this place, in this manner, and under these circumstances, and the *exegetical* question as to the sense of the discourse in question should be confounded. The two investigations are rather to be kept distinct, and the more correct procedure is, to begin with the exegetical investigation, since in most cases the decision of the critical question depends on the sense and the course of thought of the discourse. So also it is one question, in what connection and in what form *Jesus* originally pronounced a discourse, and another question in what connection the *Evangelist* has taken it and reproduced it. For the exegete the *latter* question is the first. The most instructive example of this kind, perhaps, is the *Sermon on the Mount* (Matt. v.-vii.; Luke vi. 20 to the end). Inasmuch as the two Evangelists display so many and so great differences in this passage, in the first instance each is to be explained and its sense and connection studied independently of the other; only after this has been done are the two to be compared with each other and to be tested according to their mutual relation. The

Kind of passages treated in the section.

Confounding of critical and exegetical questions.

Sermon on the Mount.

first procedure leads to the result that *Matthew*, even though he has not reproduced the discourse of Jesus in its originally more limited compass, but in conjunction with many other expressions, yet in chap. vii. 28, 29 he seems to indicate that he means to represent the whole as a unity; that, on the other hand, *Luke*, who reproduces the discourse later and in a shorter form, but by no means in a better connection, has also meant to give this as one discourse. The latter procedure shows that the two discourses agree as to their principal contents, and therefore, were originally identical, but differ as to time and place, and also as to the details of the contents. It follows, that so far as the intention and fundamental thought are concerned, the two discourses need not be identified. How, now, is the unity of intention of the two discourses to be ascertained? Here, as everywhere, we are to proceed by way of induction, i.e. we must ascend from the *particular* to the *general*. In

In Matthew Matthew the discourse shows the following course of thought: in chap. v. 3-12 it is shown what kind of men have part in the kingdom of heaven; in vs. 13-16 their proper relation to the world is given; hereupon, in vs. 17-48, the *law* of the kingdom of heaven is explained; in chap. vi. 1-18 the *practice of virtue* in the kingdom of heaven is explained according to its usual categories, almsgiving, praying, fasting; these likewise are given in vs. 19-34 according to their fundamental bearing. After, now, in chap. vii. 1-14, several ethical commands have been given in loose connection, there follows (chap. vii. 15-20) a warning against false prophets, together with a specification of the criterion by which they are to be recognized; and finally, vs. 21-27, a warning against self-delusion, together with a specification of the criterion by which genuine and spurious *citizens* of the kingdom of heaven may be distinguished. Now so far as this whole discourse is to be regarded as a unity, the fundamental thought can only be in general: "The regulation of the kingdom of heaven, in contrast with the evil nature and morale of the Jewish world." In *Luke*, where the discourse has another setting and a less programmatic significance,

In Luke.

it shows the following course of thought: in chap. vi. 20-26 we have a declaration of the beatitudes and the woes of those that belong to the kingdom of heaven and of those that do not, respectively; hereupon (without an explanation of the law) the fundamental law of love according to its various relations is given, with which also the special command, "Judge not ..." (vs. 39), is fittingly joined; in vs. 39-42 we have instruction for those that would teach and guide others; in vs. 43-47 the criteria of the ἀγαθός and the πορνηρός as a transition to the parable (agreeing with that in Matthew) of the house built on the sand and that built on a rock (vs. 48, 49). The fundamental drift is here similar, indeed, to that in Matthew, yet there are differences by no means insignificant: *a)* In Luke not only *Differences.* are several macarisms *wanting*, but also the assurance of the eternal validity of the law, the interpretation of the law directed against the Pharisaic externality, the whole exhibition of the right practice of virtue, together with the warning against earthly striving and earthly care, contrasted with the Pharisaic hypocrisy; furthermore, some aphorisms, as that of the broad and the narrow gate, and finally the warning against false prophets; but what is most essential is the absence of the polemics against the Pharisaic interpretation of the law and practice of virtue. *b)* Luke *has* some things that are wanting in Matthew, the "woe" against the rich and prosperous of this world; furthermore, the aphorisms, "Can a blind man be a guide for the blind?" etc., and "The disciple is not above the teacher," etc. (vs. 39, 40), as also "The good man out of the good treasury of his heart bringeth forth good ..." (vs. 45), a saying that is found in Matthew in an altogether different discourse (xii. 34, 35). *c)* Much that both have in common is *otherwise* in Luke than in Matthew: through the absence of the interpretation of the law, the command of love to enemies and the forbidding of revenge receives a different coloring from that in Matthew; not only are several aphorisms misplaced, as the command of love to enemies and the forbidding of vengeance, but several aphorisms stand in a different

Result.

connection, as, e.g. "Judge not" (vs. 37), "Good measure, pressed down . . . shall men give to you, and with what measure ye mete it shall be measured to you again" (vs. 38), the aphorism of the mote and the beam (vs. 41, 42), and the figure of the good and evil tree (vs. 43-45), which here is not connected with the warning against the false prophets. If we add further that the discourse in Luke contains two very noticeable breaks, viz. between vs. 26 and 27, and between vs. 38 and 39, we arrive at the result that the two discourses are, indeed, *identical at bottom*, cf. the agreement of the beginning, the conclusion, and the most essential elements of the contents; but yet that, in consideration of the different temporal setting and situation of the discourse, and in consideration of the many differences, *the intention cannot be the same*; that the discourse in Luke, 1) has not the programmatic character that it has in Matthew, 2) does not contain polemics against Pharisaism, and on the other hand, 3) gives a more exclusively positive statement of the rules that prevail in the kingdom of God.

64. Intention of the Johannean Discourses.

Nature of the difficulty.

John vi. 26-59.

The work is more simple when we have to do with a discourse without parallels, as, e.g. the *Johannean discourses*.¹ The difficulty is here of a different kind, and consists essentially in the fact that the connection of the thoughts is so indistinct and seemingly accidental (cf. §§ 49-54), that we may sometimes be in doubt as to a pervading thought. Most certainly such a pervading thought is to be followed in the discourse, chap. vi. 26-59. The connection of the discourse is as follows: After the miraculous feeding Jesus had withdrawn himself from the pressure of the people, and had betaken himself to the other (the western) shore of the sea; but the people sought him, and found him at last, after his arrival at Capernaum. Yet Jesus, discerning the sensuous motive of this throng, refers those that have come to a

¹ Cf. *Beyschlag*, Beiträge zur Johannäischen Frage, reprinted from the "Theol. Studien und Kritiken," 1876; *Luthardt*, The Authenticity of the Fourth Gospel; and *Godet*, Commentary on John. — Tr.

higher (spiritual) feast: ἐργάζεσθε μὴ τὴν βρωῶσιν τὴν ἀπολλυμένην, ἀλλὰ τὴν βρωῶσιν τὴν μένουσαν εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον . . . (vs. 27. ἐργάζεσθαι to obtain, to procure; cf. Theod. Prov. xxi. 6: ὁ ἐργαζόμενος θησαυρούς, Hierod. i. 24 at the beginning: ἐργασάμενον χρήματα). The discourse thus takes as its starting-point the exhortation to strive after the *enduring* feast. The same bearing has the people's challenge to him to perform a σημεῖον like the Mosaic sign of the manna in the wilderness. This gives to the discourse of Jesus a definite bearing on the idea of the *heavenly bread* (vs. 32, 33). This being the occasioning connection, let us look further, at the *course of thought*. This is determined partly by the interlocutions and objections of the people. Jesus having pointed the people to the true bread of heaven, they answer: Κύριε, πάντοτε δός ἡμῖν τὸν ἄρτον τοῦτον. Expressing, as they do, by these words a longing for the bread of heaven, the answer of Jesus is partly a more definite explanation (vs. 35), and partly an encouragement (vs. 37-40). But the words of Jesus, through the prospect of eternal life, conditioned by faith in his person, awaken offence and contradiction on the part of the Jews (vs. 41, 42). They are especially indignant at the assertion of his heavenly origin. But Jesus pays no attention whatever to this offence, but holds himself simply to the fact of their unbelief, and shows that faith in him is indeed a divine work, and is conditioned by the secret *drawing of the Father* in the hearts of men (vs. 44 f.), but he returns to the principal thought, that *he* is the bread of life, yet now with the enhancing definition that his *flesh*, which he sacrifices for the world, is this bread of life (vs. 50, 51). Yet just this enhancing definition must have been absolutely unintelligible to the Jews, who had not even understood the general statement (vs. 52). But his discourse, instead of condescending to their capacities, in order to remove their offence, ascends — after the Johannine manner — ever higher and higher, and ever becomes more and more mysterious (vs. 53-57), until in the conclusion (vs. 58) it again expresses the fundamental thought: "This is the bread that came down from

Special con-
siderations.

heaven," etc. Accordingly, there can be no doubt but that the thought: "Christ is the true bread of heaven," is the fundamental thought of the discourse. Nevertheless, we may still call attention to the following special considerations: 1) that, although the ὄχλοι have sought him all day long from thankfulness for the miraculous feeding, and rejoice to have found him at last, Jesus yet treats them as unbelievers, i.e. as those that have come to him not even for the sake of the signs, to say nothing of a higher motive; he seems, therefore, to value the thankfulness for the appeasing of their hunger less highly than belief for the sake of the signs, which elsewhere he values by no means highly (vs. 26 f., 36 coll. ii. 23-25; iv. 48). 2) The idea that he is the true bread of heaven is contrasted with the historical conception of the manna in the wilderness, as the pretended bread from heaven, and, indeed, in such a way that God, the giver of the one, is contrasted with Moses, the giver of the other (vs. 32-38). 3) The idea that his *flesh*, sacrificed in death, is the true food of heaven is, indeed, the idea of the Lord's Supper, while our Evangelist, as is well-known, has no account of the institution of the Supper, — an idea which historically considered must have been at that time absolutely incomprehensible. We have to do here merely with logical exegesis, not with criticism. From this point of view the following is to be said: ad 1) From this feature, as from others, (cf. especially, iv. 47, 48), the altogether different idea of faith that prevails in the Gospel of John is apparent: it is more intellectualistic, or, more strictly, more intuitive, than in the Synoptics. Ad 2) We get an understanding of the contrast between the historico-empirical and the ideal conception of the heavenly bread first from Philo, who applies the manna in the wilderness to the Logos and declares the Logos to be the true bread of life (De Profugis, ed. Mang. I. 566): Διαχθήσονται δέ ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοπρόπου ὅτι οὗτος ἐστὶν ὁ ἄρτος, ὃν ἔδωκε κύριος αὐτοῖς φαγεῖν." "Τίς οὖν ὁ ἄρτος; εἶπε. "Τοῦτο, φησί, το ῥῆμα ὃ συνέταξε κύριος." If now Philo declares the Logos to be the true manna, if according to John Christ is the Logos, and:

if the Johannean Christ — in reference to the manna — calls himself the true bread of heaven, we shall not go astray if we find here the application of the Alexandrine idea of the Logos to Christ.¹ Ad 3) There is no doubt but that the Evangelist — in view of the Judaizing paschal and eucharistic festivals — meant to divest the idea of the eucharist of its historico-empirical form, and to *idealize* it. This idea, which must be completely unintelligible to the ὄχλος, is not historical, but is explicable from the intention of the Evangelist, to which precisely the showing forth of the contrast between the knowledge of Jesus and the dullness of the people (we call to mind also the discussion with Nicodemus) essentially belongs.²

65. Intention of the Epistles.

The consideration of the connection is of decisive weight for the ascertaining of the intention of a passage in quite an especial manner in the New Testament *Epistles*, since here the individual sections form in most instances so integral a part of the whole, that not only what immediately precedes, but not unfrequently *the design and economy* of the Epistle, have to be

Importance
of connection.

¹ This observation would more naturally come into the province of the Real-Explanation, but this *προλήψις* was here unavoidable. [See on the Philonian doctrine of the Logos, *Beyschlag*, as above; *Bleek*, Introduction to N. T., section on the Gospel according to John; *Dorner*, Person of Christ, Vol. i. — Tr.].

² This is one of the instances in which our author displays a leaning towards the position of Baur. The conclusion reached appears to rest upon at least three unwarranted assumptions: 1) that the Philonian and the Johannean doctrines of the Logos are identical. The contrary has been most clearly shown by Dorner, Beyschlag, and others; 2) that in his brief narrative the author of the fourth Gospel has intended to set forth all the circumstances connected with the discourses that he attributes to Christ, or even the whole of the discourses as delivered. If we knew more of the circumstances we should doubtless understand better than we do why Jesus spoke in each instance just as he did; 3) that it is incompatible with Christ's nature to speak to men with any other view than that they should at once understand his teachings in all their height and depth. His object may have been, and doubtless was in many cases, to arouse the dormant faculties of men's souls, to induce thought, to awaken curiosity; and who shall say that it was beneath the dignity of Christ to utter things mysterious, even incomprehensible, as a means to an end? — Tr.

- A difficulty.** taken into account. But here enters a difficulty: on the one hand, the rule holds good, that the exegete must take as his starting-point the understanding of the details in order to arrive at an understanding of the whole; but here the requirement is set up, that the whole must first be understood in order to
- A solution.** attain to the understanding of the individual parts. The solution of this contradiction consists in the fact that the understanding of the whole, as of the individual parts, is only to be attained through *repeated* operations, and that—though we must begin in every case with the first method—a succeeding procedure must have reference to the reverse. These two methods, *from the parts to the whole* and *from the whole to the parts*, must often be repeated, and must supplement each other. But if it should be urged against the first demand, that in the beginning we are to take as our starting-point the individual parts, that indeed in the higher schools the teacher begins with imparting to his pupils a general idea of the author and his work before he commences with them the reading of the work itself; it may be replied: 1) that the teacher himself must have arrived at the general idea in the *first* way, before he can impart it to his pupils, and 2) that the pupil also, if at a later period he do not merely swear to the words of the master, but wishes to gain an independent knowledge of the whole, must arrive at this in the same way, from below upwards, in order to get the idea received from the teacher either confirmed or corrected. But the knowledge of the whole attained in this way must now, in turn, be the medium for arriving at an insight into the meaning of the individual parts.

66. An Important Example (Rom. vii. 7-24).

We illustrate what has been said by one of the most vexed examples, viz. by Rom. vii. 7-24. The question is, whether Paul meant in this section to describe the condition of the regenerate or that of the unregenerate; or more exactly, whether the *ἐγώ* is the Christian *ἐγώ* or the ante-Christian. Almost all the ante-Augustinian theologians, with the exception of Methodius, regarded this section as a description of the

Statement
of the ques-
tion.

Ante-Aug-
ustinian
view.

ante-Christian condition of Paul. Nay, Augustine and Jerome themselves, before the Pelagian controversy, were of the same opinion. Abelard, Thos. Aquinas, and Erasmus followed these. But in the controversy with the Pelagians Augustine and Jerome changed their opinion, and explained the passage of the condition of the regenerate. Most of the Western teachers followed now the authority of these great Fathers, especially the Reformers and the old Protestant exegetes. Only W. Musculus, Castello, F. Socinus, and the Arminians were of a different opinion. But just in opposition to the Socinians and the Arminians, the Augustinian view was held so much the more zealously, and this view always held its place as the orthodox view, even in more recent times, against the Rationalists. But not only Socinians, Arminians, and Rationalists, but also A. H. Franke, G. Arnold, Buckleus, and Bengel did homage to the ante-Augustinian view. This view now grew more and more in favor, the more exegesis was freed from the fetters of dogmatics and was established upon correct hermeneutical principles, and was adopted and defended by the most approved exegetes, such as De Wette, Rückert, Baumgarten-Crusius, Meyer, Tholuck, Fritzsche, van Hengel. Only in the most recent time the theologians related to the old orthodoxy, Delitzsch (not Hofmann), Kohlbrügge, and especially Philippi, have returned to the Augustinian explanation. The grounds for the latter, according to Philippi, are as follows: *a*) vs. 7-13 evidently describe the condition of the unregenerate, as is clear from the preterite; but from vs. 14 onwards, the discourse passes over into the present, and describes, therefore, a present condition: *β*) what is said in vs. 17 (σύνφημι τῷ νόμῳ), in vs. 19 (οὐ γὰρ ὁ θέλω ποιῶ ἀγαθόν . . .), and especially in vs. 22 (συνήδουμαι τῷ νόμῳ . . .), an unregenerate man could not say of himself; *γ*) vs. 25 contradicts completely the view of the unregenerate condition (εὐχαριστῶ τῷ θεῷ . . .); *δ*) Gal. v. 17 is evidently a parallel passage to the one under discussion, and there can be no doubt that the converted condition is meant. This is the state and the interest of the question.

Augustine's
later view.

Modern de-
fenders of
the Ante-
Augustinian
view.

Recent de-
fenders of
the Augustinian
view.

Philippi's
argument.

How to attain to the true result. Examination of the details.

In what way now are we to arrive at the right result? 1) Through an examination of the *individual parts*, especially of the exegetical factors on which stress is laid by those that maintain the Augustinian view. The first question is: who is the ἐγώ? does Paul speak of himself alone, or does he speak — *κατά μετασχηματισμόν* — of a whole class of men? That the latter is the case is clear from all that is predicated of the ἐγώ, which is not merely individual, as well as from the analogy of similar *μετασχηματισμοί*, cf. Gal. ii. 19, 20; 1 Cor. iv. 3, 4 coll. 6. α) But it is especially in dispute, whether with vs. 14 a change of the situation is introduced, as has been declared. The reading, indeed, varies between γάρ (N¹BCFGK, Verss., and Fathers), and δέ (A¹DEL, Verss., and Fathers), but γάρ has the greater probability in its favor, not merely on account of the importance of Cod. B and N, but also because δέ seems to be more suitable, and would, therefore, be substituted for the γάρ rather than vice versa. But if γάρ is to be read, the view of a passing over from the unconverted to the converted state is inadmissible, not only on account of the γάρ, but also because vs. 14 is not a narrative or descriptive thought, but a reflection on what precedes. The change from the aorist to the present is also explicable enough from the change from description to reflection, and by virtue of the *μετασχηματισμός* the present is retained in what follows also. If, furthermore, it is said, that the words vs. 17, 19, and 22 are not suitable to the unregenerate condition, this is not an exegetical, but a dogmatic reason, and rests not so much on an actual deliverance of the moral consciousness, as on a dogmatic interpretation thereof. β) With more reason is vs. 25 referred to as an instance against the ante-Augustinian explanation of the passage; but it is a question partly of the correct reading, partly of the connection. The reading vacillates between εὐχαριστῶ τῷ θεῷ (Text. Rec., N¹AKL, most of the other Uncials, Verss., and Greek Fathers), χάρις τῷ θεῷ (Cod. B almost alone, some Verss. and Fathers) and ἡ χάρις τοῦ θεοῦ (DEF, Verss., Itala, Vulg., and Latin Fathers). The last reading is suspicious,

from the fact that it seems to have arisen from the striving to prevent the question in vs. 24 from remaining unanswered. But whether εὐχαριστῶ or χάρις τῷ θεῷ is read does not at all affect the main question. As regards the connection, vs. 25 is evidently a *transition* from vs. 24 to viii. 1. Verse 25 would, therefore, be a support of the Augustinian explanation only if this verse still belonged entirely to the foregoing, and the present division into chapters were determinative. Finally, γ) Gal. v. 17 is cited as a support for the Augustinian explanation, but there the opposition between πνεῦμα and σὰρξ, while here that between νοῦς and σὰρξ, is spoken of. But the Pauline psychology now teaches that the Apostle never uses πνεῦμα and νοῦς synonymously. The passage is, therefore, not a perfect parallel, and hence can prove nothing for the explanation of our passage. Through the explanation of the details, therefore, the groundlessness of the argument for the Augustinian explanation of our passage is proved. 2) But the *connection generally and upon the whole* is decisive for the opposite view. The whole of the first part of our Epistle is occupied with proving that man is justified not through the law, but of grace, through faith. In chap. i.—iii. this is shown from the universal sinfulness as well of the Gentiles as also of the Jews. In chap. iv. it is shown that this is no new doctrine, but a doctrine contained already in the Old Testament. In chap. v. the whole blessed *result* of justification, partly in the consciousness of the justified (vs. 1–11), partly in the religious history of humanity (vs. 12–21), is set forth. In chap. vi. an important objection is answered, which might be adduced from v. 20, 21, i.e. from the assertion that sin must abound in order that grace might much more abound. But since now the question still always remains, *why* then the law contributes nothing to justification, this question is treated in chap. vii.: first of all it is shown, in a preliminary way, by an analogy, how man, from the fact that he has entered another relation, has become free from the first; but then ex professo, in that it is shown psychologically *how only through the law the consciousness of sin*

Connection
generally
for the op-
posite view.

Why the
law does
not justify.

and of antagonism is awakened. This is so wrought out, that first of all (vs. 7-13) — by way of protestation against the suggestion that the law itself is something evil — the fact is established, that with the entering of the law into the consciousness sin has been stirred up; that then (vs. 14-23) it is made clear psychologically *whence it happens* that the law, though good in itself, is yet the innocent cause of the consciousness of sin and antagonism; viz. from its relation to the carnal nature of man, which it can merely make manifest, but cannot overcome. So there remains to man under the law nothing but the painful longing for redemption. Quite different is the condition in *grace*, whose blessedness, new obligation, and consolation are set forth in chap. viii. It is — as the foregoing exposition shows — an improper statement of the question at the outset: whether in the passage under discussion the condition of the regenerate or that of the unregenerate is described? It is rather the condition under the law and the condition in *grace* that are contrasted in chap. vii. and viii. But should the question still be put thus, the answer would depend on the question, whether Paul classes the condition under the law, which is undeniably described in the section mentioned, with the regenerate condition? But this question, unless we are willing to subvert the whole Pauline doctrine, must be decidedly *denied*; cf. Rom. vii. 24 coll. viii. 1-4; x. 4; Gal. ii. 19-21; iii. 23-26. Thus is the vexed passage, partly in an inductive and partly in a deductive way, cleared up.

True
solution.

γ) *The Intention of Prophetical Sections.*

67. Prophecy and its Interpretation.

In no department of exegesis has so much caprice and confusion prevailed, from ancient times until now, as in the explanation of the prophetical matter of the Bible. This confusion and caprice has its ground, 1) in the fact, that far less has been thought about investigating the meaning of the author than about seeking in the prophetical passage what it has been thought desirable to find therein, and 2) in the

Grounds of
confusion
and caprice.

false idea of prophecy. As regards the first point, we have already earlier called attention thereto as a fundamental error of the interpreters, and as the fruitful source of unnumbered errors; it must, therefore, just here be repeated with emphasis, that all Scripture interpretation, without exception, has to do in the first instance with investigation of the sense as a *historical matter of fact*. With regard to the second point, it is to be lamented that even still in the most recent time excellent men have suffered themselves to be led, in striving after the deep sense, to underlay the prophetic words of the biblical authors with a sense of which these authors had hardly, indeed, thought, — in opposition, to be sure, to a flattening and emptying view, to which everything was “mysticism,” that transcended its horizon.

We have to do, therefore, with the true idea of prophecy, and this is to be gained chiefly from the Old Testament and from the products of the still freshly flowing prophetic spirit; especially from the biblical expressions that designate a prophet: **נָבִיא** seer (1 Sam. ix. 9) or **חֹזֶה** the same (Isa. i. 1; Amos i. 1), but chiefly **נָבִיא** (verbal radical unused **נָבַע**, but Arabic, to announce, 2d conjugation, to prophesy; coll. Heb. **נָבַע** to gush, to spout forth: Prov. xviii. 4, with which also is to be compared **נָבַע** stillare, Hiph. to prophesy, and **נָבִיא** prophet, Mic. ii. 11) either passive, one inspired or instructed by God; or intransitive, speaker, orator; cf. Ex. vii. 1 (Moses to Aaron as God to the prophet, Aaron Moses's nabi = spokesman, coll. iv. 16), Amos iii. 7, 8 (prophesying the necessary result of the speaking of God). Furthermore, the expressions are to be considered with which the Hebrew designates the influence of God on the prophets: “Put my words in his mouth” (Num. xxiii. 12, 16; Deut. xviii. 18); “Pour out his Spirit” (Joel iii. 1 coll. Isa. xlv. 3); “Jehovah's Spirit came over [נָבַע] him” (Judg. xiv. 6, 19; xv. 14; 1 Sam. x. 6); “Jehovah's Spirit came upon [נָבַע] him” (1 Sam. xix. 20–23), etc. This influence is represented as a higher power, which, however, does not deprive the prophet of his consciousness and his freedom (Num. xxiii. 12; Isa. viii. 11; Jer. xx. 7, 9). The prophet designates himself (Num. xxiv. 3, 4), as the man

True idea of prophecy, how attainable.

Hebrew expressions.

Designations of the divine influence on prophets.

Official
epithets of
prophets.

Prophets
not uncon-
scious and
involuntary.

Prophecy
always rests
on histori-
cal ground.

of opened eyes, who hears the words of God, who beholds the face of the Almighty — his eyes uncovered. One is called to the prophetic office by God (Isa. vi. ; Jer. i. ; Amos vii. 15), and his office is to exhort and to warn the people (Mic. iii. 8 ; Jer. xxiii. 22 ; Ezek. xxxiii. 3-9). Official epithets of the prophets are : " man of God " (1 Sam. ii. 27 ; 1 Kings xii. 22 ; xiii. 1) ; " watchman " (נֹחֵם Jer. vi. 17 ; Ezek. iii. 17 ; xxxiii. 2, coll. Hab. ii. 1). The prophet is, therefore, the divinely called and inspired proclaimer of God's counsel and will — and, indeed, *in general* (Joel i. ; Amos iii. ; Isa. i., etc.), particularly with reference to the future of the theocracy (Joel iii. 1-5 ; Amos ix. 11-15 ; Mic. iv. 1-4 ; Jer. xxxi. 31-34 ; Ezek. xi. 17 f. ; xxxvi. 22-27 ; Isa. xl.-lxvi., especially xliii. 18, 19 ; Jer. xxvi. 2-6, etc.). That the prophets, while they were indeed rapt and inspired by the Spirit of God, were not unconscious and involuntary organs of the Spirit, is evident, 1) from the circumstance, that they could afterwards write out their revelations ; cf. especially Jer. xxxvi. ; and 2) that the Apostle yet definitely distinguishes the *προφητεύειν* from the *γλώσσας λαλεῖν* ; cf. 1 Cor. xiv. 4, 5, 22-24. So far as the discourse of the prophet relates to the future, prophecy¹ is sometimes *unconditioned* (Num. xxiii. 19 ; Isa. liv. 10 ; Jer. xxxi. 36, 37 ; xxxiii. 19-26), — and, indeed, unconditioned prophecy of penal judgments (Jer. v. and vi. ; xi. 1-17 ; xv. 1-9 ; Amos i. 4-8 ; v. et al.), as well as of promises (Joel iii. and iv. ; Amos ix. 11-15 ; Hos. ii. 14-23 ; Isa. viii. 23 to ix. 6, 11, 35, 40 ff. ; Jer. xxxi., etc.) ; and sometimes *conditioned* through the relation of the people (Joel ii. 12-14 ; Jer. vii. 5-7 ; xv. 19 ; xviii. 5-10 ; xxvi. 3, 13 ; xxxvi. 3 ; Ezek. xviii. 11-27). But prophecy always rests on the *historical ground*, where the prophet lives, and has this for its presupposition. Cf. Joel iii. coll. ii. 21-27 ; Amos i. and ii. ; Hos. iv. ff. ; Isa. vii. ; viii. 23 to ix. 6, 11, especially vs. 11 ff. ; xl.-lxvi., especially xlv. et al. Even

¹ The Germans have a word to represent the utterances of prophets in general — *Prophetie*, and a distinct word to represent such utterances as relate to the future — *Weissagung*. We cannot make the distinction without circumlocution. — Tr.

Daniel, cf. especially, chap. xi. (on which see Jerome) and cf. the connection with the foregoing. In the New Testament: Matt. xxiv. and Par.; 2 Thess. ii. 1-9, especially vs. 6 and 7; Rev., especially vii. 14; xi. 1, 2; xvii. 9-11. Lastly — and this is one of the most important points — the *drift* of prophecy is not so much to minister to curiosity as to *arouse the people to repentance, to faith, and to steadfastness*. Just as the biblical monotheism is not a speculative monotheism (as that of the Brahmins and the Eleatics), but a *practical* monotheism (cf. Ex. -xx. 3 f.; Deut. vi. 4 f.; Isa. xli. 1-4; xlii. 3; xlv. 6 ff.; xlv. 1-11; Jer. ii. 13; xvii. 5-8), so is the prophecy of the one God, according to its whole intention essentially *practical* (cf. especially Joel i. and ii.; Amos iii.; Hos. v. 1-6; xi.; xiv. 2-10; Mic. vi. 1-8; vii. 1-6; Isa. i. 2-31; v.; xl.-lxvi.; Jer. ii. 1-3, 5; iii. 6-vi. 30; vii.-ix., etc. Drift of prophecy. This is only a synopsis of the features, for the further Literature. elaboration of which see *Knobel*, *Der Prophetismus der Hebräer*, 1837. *Hitzig*, *Einleitung zum Propheten Jesaja*, 1833. *B. Köster*, *Die Propheten des Alten und Neuen Testaments*, 1838. *H. Ewald*, *Die Propheten des Alten Bundes*, 1840, and later. *Bunsen*, *God in History*. *F. Bleek*, *Introduction to the Old Testament*, vol. ii. pp. 1-31. For views different from the one here advanced, see *Hengstenberg*, *Christology of the Old Testament*, 2 ed. *Hofmann*, *Weissagung und Erfüllung*. *Auberlen*, *The Prophet Daniel and the Book of Revelation*, 2 ed. Cf. on the other hand, *Bertheau*, in the *Jahrbücher für deutsche Theologie*, 1859, pp. 314 ff., and pp. 593 ff., against whom again *Oehler*, *Art. Weissagung in Herzog's R. E.*; *H. Schulz*, *Alttestamentliche Theologie*, I. 147 ff. See also *Oehler's* programme "Ueber das Verhältniss der Alttestamentlichen Prophetie zur heidnischen Mantik," 1861.¹

ES. Difficulties in interpreting Prophecy.

But even if the interpreter has the right view of prophecy, he may yet stumble upon difficulties. The principal are the

¹ See also the elaborate Article, "Prophet," in *Smith's Dict. of the Bible*, where a full exhibit of the literature of the subject, Latin, German, and English, may be found.—Tr.

- Uncertainty of time. following: *a)* It may occur that the *time* in which the prophet wrote, and hence the historical foundation, is obscure and disputed, e.g. in the Old Testament in Obadiah, in the New
- Figurative language. Testament in 2 Thess. ii. 1-12. *b)* The poetical or rhetorical form of the prophecy may leave it uncertain, what belongs to the contents and what to the figurative form, — a difficulty which certainly belongs to the explanation of the New Testament
- Doubtfulness as to tense. prophecy less than that of the Old Testament, *c)* Sometimes it may be doubtful whether the prophet speaks of a future or of a present matter, as, e.g. in the Old Testament in Nah. iii. 1 ff., in the New Testament what is said in 2 Thess. ii. 5 f., of the
- Seeming incongruity between prophecy and fulfilment. ἀντικείμενος and κατέχων. *d)* It may occur that between the prophecy and the fulfilment a remarkable incongruity can be established, and that, too, not only in the details but in the prophecy as a whole, as between the words of triumph of the Babylonish Isaiah¹ and the miserable result of the Jewish Restoration; cf. Hag. ii. 3; Neh. i. and ii.; Joseph. Arch. l. XI. Cf. furthermore, the Messianic prophecies Isa. viii. 23-ix. 6; xi. 1-10, et al., with the issue; in the New Testament the prophecy of the Parousia as near at hand (Matt. xvi. 27, 28; xxvi. 64, and Par.; 1 Thess. iv. 15; 1 Cor. xv. 51) with
- Partial disagreement of the same. the history. *e)* Frequently a certain agreement between prophecy and its fulfilment cannot be denied; but facts appear connected in the prophecy, that afterwards lie far apart historically, as Matt. xxiv.; Mark xiii., the destruction of Jerusalem
- Lack of perspective. and the συντέλεια τοῦ αἵωνος. *f)* Finally, the time of the consummation appears at one time close at hand, e.g. Matt. x. 23; xvi. 28; 1 Thess. iv. 15; 1 Cor. xv. 51; Rev. i. 3; xxii. 7, 12, 20, at another time it recedes into the distance; cf. Matt. xiii. 31-33; xxiv. 14; 2 Thess. ii. 2-4, lastly, the whole line of events that are to take place, according to the Apocalyptic, between his time and the Parousia. Each of these passages is

¹ Our author takes for granted here what most but not all authorities admit as to the authorship of the second part of Isaiah. He also assumes, quite unnecessarily, that the return of the Israelites from the captivity exhausts the prophecy. — TR.

to be explained first of all from its connection; yet certain general points of view are necessary, without which the most essential difficulties cannot be solved. Referring to the foregoing paragraphs (*a*, *b*, etc.), we call special attention here to the following:

a) The historical situation and basis cannot, it is true, be always established with certainty, but sometimes the difficulty is not so much contained in the text itself as brought forward through a theological interest. It cannot be too strongly emphasized, that this interest must recede entirely behind the exegetical-historical matter-of-fact.

b) With reference to the relation of prophecy to fulfilment, it is clear, from the preceding paragraph, that an enlightened glance into the future of the kingdom of God was, indeed, vouchsafed to the prophets, but that prophecy neither related to all the details nor could or would foresee the future, even as a whole, with the exactness and infallibility of chronicles, but that it is essentially *conditioned* through the politico-religious situation in which the prophet lived, and in its expressions was figuratively and rhetorically colored; that in general the Divine Spirit, by which the prophet was seized, wrought not with mechanical or magical necessity, nor dispensed with the human in him, but rather consecrated and elevated it. From this *authorship* by men *with minds thus exalted* is the incongruity between the sanguine prophecy and the poor fulfilment; from the national and temporal *limitation* of the prophet is the contradiction between the nationally and politically colored contents of prophecy and the universal and spiritual issue, to be explained.

c) That the end appears now to be near at hand and now far remote is explicable from the fact that the prophetic illumination has reference essentially only to the general and real development of the kingdom of God, but not to local and temporal matters. Over against the vulgar opinion, theologically defended even in this century, that the divinity of prophecy is shown chiefly in the coincidence of *particular* things, must be set as the true view, that the more prophecy relates to the particular and empirical, to the local and temporal, the more

Alleviation
of the fore-
going dif-
ficulties.

Prophecy
conditioned
through the
politico-
religious
situation.

The divinity
of prophecy
not shown
chiefly in co-
incidences.

uncertain it is, and on the other hand, the more it is directed to the *general and the ideal*, the more certain and divine it is.¹

69. Jesus's Eschatological Discourse.

For the illustration of what has been said the *eschatological discourse of Jesus* Matt. xxiv. (coll. Mark xiii; Luke xxi), may serve. The discourse, as regards its eschatological didactic part, has a strong *Danielic* coloring, especially in Matthew, where Daniel himself is expressly mentioned (vs. 24). Essentially Danielic are the following features; vs. 15 coll. Dan. ix. 27; vs. 21 coll. Dan. xii. 1; vs. 30 coll. Dan. vii. 13. How, in general, at the time of Jesus and the Apostles the idea of the Messiah assumed a Danielic form. such expressions as Matt. xiii. 43 coll. Dan. xii. 3; Matt. xvi. 27 f.; xxvi. 64 coll. Dan. vii. 13; furthermore, 2 Thess. ii. 4 coll. Dan. xi. 36, and the whole Book of Revelation, show. The *relation of the destruction of Jerusalem and the temple* to the *συντέλεια τοῦ αἰῶνος* and to the Parousia in the specifically eschatological part, is a matter of dispute. The express mention of the siege and destruction of Jerusalem is found, indeed, only in Luke (vs. 20–24); but with the first two Evangelists also the connection of the two events is, at least, presupposed; (cf. Matt. vs. 3 ff.; Mark vs. 3 ff.; Matt. vs. 15, 16; Mark vs. 14). Here the principal difficulty is this, that Jesus 1) has represented his personal and heavenly return as impending in the near future, and 2) as closely connected with the judgment on Jerusalem, — both of which, as is well-known, are contradicted through the history. *Either*, therefore, Jesus has erred and indulged in reveries, *or* we must understand this prophecy otherwise. Yet *how* are we to understand it? We may a) seek yet to *separate* the prophecy of the destruction of Jerusalem from that of the Parousia, but this would be an act of exegetical violence, and, as such, has long since been condemned; or we may β) *idealize* the so plastic prophecy of the Parousia and say: Jesus has expressed his spiritual ideas in sensuous

The question at issue

Principal difficulty.

Two alternatives.

Separation of the two elements.

Idealizing.

¹ This statement will probably not strike most readers as axiomatic. — Tr.

images, but did not intend that these should be understood literally. But what ideal sense are we to attach to these sensuous images? That his *kingdom*, his *truth* in the immediate future shall be manifested in glory, of which the destruction of Jerusalem, the ruin of the Jewish theocracy, is the preliminary condition. But for this there is no exegetical justification at hand either in this eschatological discourse itself, or in any other discourse or expression of Jesus whatsoever. Or γ) Misunderstanding on the part of the Evangelists. it may be assumed that the disciples and especially the Evangelists had *misunderstood* the Lord. For this view there seems to be irrefragable grounds, but especially the conflict with such passages as Matt. xiii. 31-33; Mark iv. 26-29, according to which the kingdom of God is not to appear as a *Deus ex machina*, but is to be developed from small and hidden beginnings; furthermore, in Matt. xx. 25-28, et al., according to which the essence of the kingdom of Christ is not external power and glory, but ministering love. Nevertheless the supposition of such a misunderstanding, which would have been participated in by *all* the disciples and Apostles, even by *Paul* (1 Cor. xv. 51; 1 Thess. xv. 15-17), is extremely hazardous and arbitrary. What assurance should we have after such a universal and profound misunderstanding that they had understood aright any of the Master's words whatever? And so far as the inconsistency with the other expressions of Jesus cited is concerned, it is by no means unthinkable that Jesus did really regard its silent and gradual development as the immediate destination of the kingdom of God, but as its conclusion, a great manifestation and catastrophe. δ) What the last supposition involves. Accordingly, the only view left to sober and fair exegesis seems to be, that Jesus really — in substance at least — *said what* we read, namely, in Matt. xxiv. and Mark xiii. and *said it as* we there read it. The same prediction of his Parousia to be expected in the near future is found also, indeed, in Matt. x. 23, especially in Matt. xvi. 27 f.; xix. 28; xxvi. 64. But how does it help the matter to remove exegetically this expectation in the great eschatological discourse, if the other expressions, that say the same

The correct view.

thing in substance, remain standing? And how should we account for the fact that the Apostle Paul, otherwise so acute a thinker, has the same downright sensuous conception of the Parousia and the final judgment (1 Thess. iv. 15 f.; 1 Cor. xv. 51, 52)? But how, then, are we to escape as a result the supposition that Jesus erred, that he spoke as an enthusiast? €)

A method
of escape.

There seems to be still one method of escape left. viz. to suppose that the discourse with reference to the future (Matt. xxiv; Mark xiii.) is *spurious*, or has at least been strongly interpolated in a Jewish interest. This view is not entirely destitute of support; first of all, it is remarkable, that the discourse which yet takes as its starting-point the definite expectation of the destruction of Jerusalem (Matt. vs. 2; Mark vs. 2), does not speak of this, but only of the *βδέλνυμα ἐρημώσεως* of the temple (Matt. vs. 15); then vs. 20, "Pray, that your flight may not take place on the Sabbath," does not seem at all in harmony with Jesus's way of thinking about the Sabbath and his relation thereto (cf. Mark ii. 27, 28; iii. 1-5, al.). But then this would necessitate an impeachment also of the genuineness of the other passages with reference to the Parousia, and thus would follow the evil state of things pointed out under γ.

Wiffen-
bach's ex-
planation.

ζ) Finally, an explanation seems to have much in its favor, which after suggestions by Schleiermacher and Weisse, Wiffenbach (*Der Zukunftsgedanke Jesu*, 1873) has very recently developed: only the prediction of his return as *near at hand* is properly authentic in this discourse with reference to the future, since this thought was neither immediately nor mediately indicated in Judaism. The rest is made up by a mingling partly of collected expressions of Jesus spoken on other occasions, partly of thoughts that do not belong to the Master himself. Thus vanishes the appearance of a connection of the Parousia with the destruction of Jerusalem. That this is not to be referred to the Master himself, is confirmed by the other expressions as to the Parousia, which say nothing of the destruction of Jerusalem; cf. especially, Matt. xvi. 27 f. On the other hand, Jesus expressed Parousial

thoughts in connection with his *resurrection*, and that too in such a way that the thought about his death formed for him the transition to the Parousial thought (= thought as to his resurrection); cf. especially Luke xvii. 24, 25, and Mark viii. 27 to ix. 1 Par. But how, then, is it to be explained, that Jesus expresses the thought of his return as near at hand so constantly in the words of Daniel, which, indeed, have nothing at all to do with the thought of the resurrection. The most certain thing of all that is certain in Jesus's discourses as to the future seems rather to be, that he beheld the thought of his activity extending far beyond his death in the light of the passage in Daniel (vii. 13). With this was undoubtedly connected in his mind the prophetic foreboding of a great catastrophe, especially of the divine judgment on Jerusalem. As to his Israelitish conception Jerusalem represented the theocratic centre of the world, so also the *ruin* of Jerusalem represented the centre of the catastrophe of the world. Not the temporal, but the *ideal* connection of the judgment on Jerusalem with his manifestation in glory is here the principal thing. When we say that Jesus has expressed his thoughts as to the future in the realistic manner of Daniel, we simply say that *he*, as an Oriental, an Israelite, *did* think of it thus; but *we* Occidentals, we children of the nineteenth century, *cannot* thus think of it. This is the stand-point that an honest, truth-loving exegesis must take. Was the *intention* of this discourse essentially theoretical, to *enlighten* his disciples with reference to the last things, or practical, to *exhort* them to watchfulness and steadfastness? In the former case the exhortation from vs. 43 (Matt.), or vs. 28 (Mark) onwards would contain merely inferences; in the latter case the entire foregoing exposition of the *ᾠδῆς* and of the Parousia would be mere assignment of motive to the exhortation to watchfulness. This must be determined partly from the occasion and partly from the course of thought of the discourse itself. The discourse is *occasioned* according to all the Synoptics, most clearly of all according to Mark, through the circumstance that his disciples (according to Mark one of the disciples) called

The true explanation.

Jesus, as an Oriental, thought and spoke as an Oriental.

Intention of the discourse.

Occasion.

their Master's attention to the great and gorgeous structure of the (Herodian) temple, whereupon he answered, that no stone should remain upon another, — and through the question, When shall this happen, and what will be the signs of the Parousia and of the time of consummation? Here it is remarkable already, that the interrogators (according to Matthew, not according to Mark), as it appears, go far beyond the observation of the Master; for he had spoken merely of the destruction of the temple, but they talk of the Parousia and *συντέλεια τοῦ αἰῶνος*. This question is grounded on the idea of the *תְּהִי עֲשֵׂה* (Dan. ix. 27; xii. 1 f.), of which the destruction of the temple will be a part. Jesus accepts this conception, since he not only foresees the overthrow of the city and of the temple, but himself also brings the destruction of the holy city into connection with the Messianic *ὠδίνες* and the *συντέλεια τοῦ αἰῶνος*. (On this, see above). This is the connection, which points to the fact, that the intention of the passage is *instruction* with reference to the last things. But everything depends on the contents and character of this instruction, and this is to be learned from the *course of thought*. Now it is already worthy of observation, that Jesus begins his instruction with the practical exhortation: *βλέπετε μή τις ὑμᾶς πλανήσῃ* (Matt. vs. 4; Mark vs. 5). Now this exhortation is motived, certainly, through the following instruction with reference to the coming of the false Messiahs (Matt. vs. 5; Mark vs. 6); with this is connected the prophecy of wars and political revolutions (Matt. vs. 6, 7), and these phenomena are (vs. 8) designated as *ἀρχὴ ὠδίνων*, with which the first group of thoughts concludes. The second now speaks of the bodily and spiritual calamities by which *they themselves* will be affected, and concludes with the aphorism: *ὁ δὲ ὑπομείνας εἰς τέλος, οὗτος σωθήσεται* (Matt. vs. 13 — Mark has not the same course of thought) and with the prospect of the spread of the gospel over the Gentile world (vs. 14). This group ends with the words *καὶ τότε ἔξει τὸ τέλος*. The principal group (Matt. vs. 15–28) is divided into the recommendation of rapid flight from the destruction (to vs. 20 inclusive), and the

The intention is instruction concerning the last things.

Course of thought.

Didactic part.

grounding of this exhortation through the unheard-of greatness of the calamity (to vs. 28). The following group (vs. 29-31) contains the Parousia itself, which is to appear in connection with great commotions of the heavens — the decisive factor, which is delineated according to Dan. vii. 13. Thus far the predominantly didactic part extends. With vs. 32 the *practical* part of the discourse begins, and goes to the end of the chapter, nay, even beyond this point, for the parable of the Ten Virgins is closely connected with that of the servant expecting the arrival of his lord. This practical part may be analyzed as follows: vs. 32-35 speaks of the *certainty* of the prophecy, declared through the *σημεῖα* mentioned, and guaranteed through the Lord's words; vs. 36-42 of the *uncertainty* of the *point of time*, and the necessity grounded in this of *watching*, and in vs. 43 ff. watching is invited through two parables, of which the one enjoins watchfulness as circumspection, the other bases watchfulness on the culpability of the opposite. What follows now from this course of thought for the intention of the discourse? The *question* of the disciples was a question of curiosity and inquisitiveness; the *answer* of Jesus corresponds to this in as far as he gives to the disciples, certainly, the *σημεῖα* of the Parousia, but this instruction of his concludes with a practical doctrine, as he has already begun it, indeed, with an exhortation, and has closed each part of his prophecy with a practical sentence. Jesus *transforms* thus the *question of curiosity into a practical question*, just as in Luke xiii. 23 ff. and x. 29 ff. Not as if prophecy were a mere vehicle of exhortation, for with this, here as elsewhere, there is a bitter seriousness, and the divine counsels, together with their proclamation, are a matter of great concern. Rather the relation of the eschatological prediction to the practical object is to be so understood, that the former in God's counsel is *the ground, development, and consummation of the kingdom of God*; but *the first and the last thing* for the disciples is *watchfulness* and steadfast *endurance*.

Practical
part.

Teaching of
the course
of thought.

Relation of
the predic-
tion to the
practical
object.

70. Prophetical Passage in 2 Thessalonians.

By the help of the point of view set forth we may throw

light upon still another prophetic passage: 2 Thess. ii. 1-12. The critical question respecting the relation of 2 Thess. to 1 Thess. remains here untouched. Presupposing the certainly difficult *grammatical* explanation of our passage, we have to do

Occasion. only with its *logical* sense. The *occasion* of the instruction on the last things that follows is clearly given in vs. 1 and 2: "Now we beseech you, brethren, with regard to the Parousia (*ὑπὲρ* as *περί*, also 1 Thess. iii. 2; 2 Cor. i. 8) of our Lord Jesus Christ, and our gathering together unto him (cf. Matt. xxiv. 31), that ye be not soon shaken in mind or troubled (*νοῦς*, the clear consciousness in distinction from enthusiasm and agitation; cf. 1 Cor. xiv. 15), neither through enthusiasm, nor through agitation (see vs. 15 coll. 1 Cor. xii. 8), nor through a (forged) letter, purporting to have been written by us, as if the day of the Lord were near at hand."¹ The Thessalonians, therefore, had been by such means thrown into such an apocalyptic agitation, that they had withdrawn, as it appears, from their ordinary avocations and labors, and yielded to idleness in expectation of the end of the world; cf. iii. 6 f. The work of the Apostle must, therefore, it would seem, consist in *pacifying* the minds of the readers. Let us, however, consider the instruction and the

Course of thought. *course of thought* itself. This is first of all (vs. 3-7) *regressive*,
Regressive. and points out all that must precede the Parousia, viz. 1) the *apostasy*, by which not a political but a religio-moral apostasy is meant, and as representative and head of this apostasy the *ἄνθρωπος τῆς ἀμαρτίας* (i.e. he in whom sin is, so to speak, embodied), the *υἱὸς τῆς ἀπωλείας*, who is now still further described as *ὁ ἀντικείμενος* (as the adversary *κατ' ἐξ.*), and *ὁ ὑπεραιρόμενος ὑπὲρ πάντα λεγόμενον θεὸν ἢ σέβασμα*, who carries his self-exaltation to the most shameless self-apotheosis (analogous to Dan. xi. 36); 2) yet the removing of the *κατέχων* (-ον), by which an abstraction as well as a concrete person must be meant, i.e. partly the Roman government in abstracto, partly its representative, the emperor (probably Claudius) in concreto,

Progressive precedes the open apostasy. In vs. 8 the discourse is *progressive*

¹ A paraphrase of the passage rather than a translation. — Tr.

sive, and treats 1) of the unchecked manifestation of the *ἀνὸμος*, who without any doubt is identical with the *ἀντικείμενος*, but is here clearly designated as representative of heathenism, and 2) of the extirpation of the same through the power of the Lord at his Parousia, together with a retrospective description of the seductive power of the adversary (vs. 9, 10), the guilt of the seduced and the judgment on them (vs. 11, 12). It is evident that Paul means (vs. 3-7) to show to the Thessalonians all that must occur before the day of the Lord appears, but that then the description (vs. 8-12), means to show in what the day of the Lord consists, viz. in the *judgment* on the dangerous adversary and those whom he has seduced. The object of the first part is to *enlarge* the view of the Thessalonians, that of the second, to *forearm* them against seduction. The *Intention* design of the whole is to impress upon the hearts of the readers the fact that *the right attitude with regard to the day of the Lord is not idle curiosity, but steadfastness of faith*. On the Apocalypse see below, § 96.

4. The Real Explanation.

Cf. *Winer*, *Biblisches Realwörterbuch*; the excellent Article in *Herzog*, *Real-Encyklopädie*; *Schenkel*, *Bibelllexikon*.

71. Scope and Importance of the Real Explanation.

The grammatical and the logical explanation have to do with nothing but the language and the thoughts of the author, paying no regard to the external relations under which he lived and wrote. These *external relations*, which exercised an influence on the author, which he presupposes, and to which he makes allusions, are now the subject of the real explanation. These relations require to be explained by so much the more 1) the more intimately they are interwoven with the feelings and thoughts of the author, and 2) the more remote the times and the more foreign the relations are to our own. These relations concern partly the physical, as the constant territory of the author and of his nationality; partly the historical, as the variable and the varying. To the physical explana-

Subject of
the real ex-
planation.

Old and new views of inspiration as affected and affecting the real explanation.

tion belongs quite pre-eminently the geographical ; to the historical, everything that concerns the political, religious, and ethical history, but also the current conceptions and opinions, and, not least important, the chronological. As long as the Bible was regarded pre-eminently as a dogmatic text-book, or as long as men did homage to an abstract doctrine of inspiration, so long there was little interest and little capacity* for understanding the sacred books in this aspect. On the other hand, nothing has contributed in a higher measure towards destroying this doctrinal onesidedness, than the increasing knowledge of the Holy Land and its history. The fundamental view from which the *more recent* positivism proceeds, in the explanation of Scripture, is very different from that of the more ancient church ; for while the latter proceeded from the *dogmatic* infallibility of Scripture, the former proceeds from the geographical, archaeological, and *historical* infallibility thereof. If the real explanation proceeds *without prepossession*, it is not prejudicial, but rather highly profitable to the genuine understanding of the Holy Scriptures.

a) *The Physical and the Geographical.*

Cf. *K. Furrer*, Die Bedeutung der biblischen Geographie für die biblische Exegese. Zürich, 1870.

72. History of Research.

Exploration stimulated by discovery of the relation between climate, etc., and the character of the people.

The connection between the nature of a country and the character of the people has been first recognized and examined into in recent times most fundamentally of all by *K. Ritter* (Comparative Geography). This general knowledge must also throw light on the special knowledge of the Jewish land and people. As the knowledge of this connection brought about a renewed interest in the examination of the Holy Land, so this examination has continually brought new gain for the understanding of the sacred authors. The works of *Robinson and Smith*, "Biblical Researches in Palestine, Mount Sinai, and Arabia Petraea in 1838," etc., and "Later Biblical Researches in Palestine," etc., 1856, made an epoch. Since that time the

number of Palestinian explorers and books of travel on Palestine, Jerusalem, etc., has become legion, and all contain valuable contributions; yet the study of the Holy Land is still far from being exhausted. Inasmuch as it is impossible to most exegetes and biblical students to master the monstrous body of material, we call special attention to the following among the old and the new works: first of all the *Bible* itself, especially the historical books of the Old Testament, and in the New Testament the Gospels; *Josephus*, especially Bell. Jud. l. III. 3 (Galilee), 10 (Sea of Genesareth), IV. 8 (Jordan and Dead Sea), V. 4 (Jerusalem), and 5 (the Temple); the Onomasticon of Eusebius and that of Jerome are worthy of special mention. Of little value are the, at the same time rare, works that proceeded from the time of the Crusades. The following works of the eighteenth century were written with more critical and scientific spirit: *Relandi*, *Palestina ex Monumentis Veteribus Illustrata*, 1714; *F. Hasselquist*, *Iter Palestinum*, 1757 (especially important in relation to subjects of natural history); *Carsten Niebuhr*, Vol. iii. of his *Travels in Arabia*, 1767, new ed. by Gloyer and Olshausen, 1837; *Volney*, *Voyage en Syrie et en Egypte*, 1787 (vivid, genial, and compendious). Of the writers of the nineteenth century we may mention: *Seetzen* (who travelled in Palestine in the years 1805–1807), articles in *Von Zach's Monatliche Correspondenz*, Bd. 17, 18, 26, and 27, *Tagebücher und Nachlass* ed. Kruse, 1854 f.; *Burkhardt* (who travelled in Syria and Egypt, 1810–1816), *Reisen in Syrien und Palästina*, ed. Gesenius, 1823. We have already spoken of *E. Robinson* and the new era that he introduced for the critical and archaeological study of the biblical lands. Robinson was followed by *Lynch*, *Account of the United States Expedition to the Jordan and the Dead Sea*, 1849 f. *Jos. Russegger*, Vol. iii. of his *Travels in Europe, Asia, and Africa*, 1847. *Rosenmüller's Biblical Geography* (1826), and *Raumer's Palestine* (1835), appeared already before the works of travel just mentioned. Especially important is *K. Ritter's* "Comparative Geography of the Sinaitic Penin-

The Bible.

Josephus.

Eusebius
and Jerome

Relandi.

Hasselquist

Niebuhr.

Volney.

Seetzen.

Burkhardt.

Robinson.

Lynch.

Russegger.

Rosenmüller.
Raumer.

Ritter.

- sula, of Palestine and Syria," Vol. ii., iii., and iv. of his "Erdkunde," "a vast magazine of all that relates to the geography of Syria and Palestine" (Robinson). Not to extend the list greatly, we mention still *Tit. Tobler*, "Bethlehem in Palästina, nach Anschau und Quellen geschildert," 1849. "Golgotha, seine Kirchen und Klöster," 1851. "Topographie von Jerusalem und seine Umgebungen," 1853 and 1854. *K. Furrer's* "Wanderungen durch Palästina" (1865), and *Fraas*, "Das todte Meer," 1867. "Aus dem Orient, geologische Beobachtungen," etc. 1867. *Tobler* is everywhere known as an exceedingly thorough investigator, and as extraordinarily well acquainted with Palestine, and the book of *Furrer*, who wandered through the land *on foot*, with his senses about him, and with a penetrating and intelligent relation to the Bible, bears the stamp of most accurate love for truth and most acute faculty of observation. Indispensable, finally, are the *maps*, especially those of Kiepert and of Van de Velde, which latter supersede most of the earlier ones. For the natural history of Palestine the learned work of *Bochart*, "Hierozoicon," as also *Celsius*, "Hierobotanicon," are still always important; in a geognostic point of view *Russegger*, especially, and, in general, *Tristram*, *The Natural History of the Bible* (London, 1867), are valuable. A complete exhibit of the geographical and archaeological helps on Palestine up to 1859 may be found in Herzog, R. E. XI. 40 ff.; of the most recent helps, in Schenkel's *Bibellexikon*.¹ Now with regard to the exegetical use of these

¹ There seems never to have been so much interest manifested in the Archaeology, Manners and Customs, Topography, Geology, and Natural History of Palestine as at present. Within the last few years societies for the promotion of these branches of knowledge have been formed in England and America, which, with ample funds at their command, are pushing forward the work of exploration and discovery with most satisfactory results. For full information with reference to these enterprizes see (for the English Society) the Quarterly Statement of the Palestine Exploration Fund, London, 1869 onwards, and (for the American) Reports of the American Palestine Exploration Society. See also Smith's Dictionary of the Bible, which, while valuable on all departments of biblical study is especially valuable on all subjects that come under the present section. At the close of each article

helps the following principal observations may be made: 1) Observations on the use of the helps. Since, indeed, in the natural features of a country most things, as the conformation and the climatic character are unchangeable, but other things, as vegetation, fruitfulness, and animation, are subject to change, we are to make the following distinction, that for the latter the *ancient* sources, especially the Bible itself, and Josephus, are the very best authority; for the unchangeable the old and the new accounts as a general thing lay claim to equal credibility, and — so far as the question involves scientific knowledge — the *more recent* accounts deserve the preference. Yet even among the latter we are to distinguish with regard to thoroughness and critical accuracy. 2) These helps, especially the more general ones, are not to be consulted for the first time when one is driven to them for the explanation of a passage; since this would not only require too much time, but would also draw away too much from the object — the ascertainment of the *sense* of a passage. The knowledge of the country is rather to be acquired *previously* and *independently* of the special exegetical interest.

For the changeable the ancient, for the unchangeable the more recent helps more valuable.

Helps to be studied apart from immediate need.

73. The Application of Geographical Knowledge.

The occasions that call for the application of the geographical knowledge of Palestine are partly express mentions of the subjects in question, partly allusions or intimations that can be thoroughly understood only by means of this knowledge. This latter kind of occasion belongs far more to the Old Testament

will be found a full and discriminating exhibit of the literature of the subject discussed. It may be worth while to mention a few of the more recent works on Palestine: *Guérin*, Description Géographique, Historique et Archéologique de la Palestine, accompagnée de cartes détaillée, 3 vols. Paris, 1868-69, — a very scholarly work based upon long-continued and careful personal exploration; *Derambourg*, Essai sur l'Histoire et la Géographie de la Palestine d'après les Thalmuds et les autres Sources Rabbiniques, Paris, 1867 onwards; *Macgregor*, The Rob Roy on the Jordan, Nile, Red Sea, and Genesareth, etc. London, 1870; *Morrison*, The Recovery of Jerusalem, a narrative of exploration and discovery in the City and the Holy Land, by Capt. Wilson, R.E., Capt. Warren, R.E. etc., with an Introduction by A.P. Stanley, D.D., Dean of Westminster. This latter work is one of extreme value and interest, and is one of the results of the English Exploration Fund mentioned above. — Tr.

Hebrew appreciation of Nature.

Jesus.

than to the New, because the Hebrew, gifted with a fine appreciation of nature, admitted allusions to his natural surroundings even into the highest and most spiritual thoughts. "A fresh breeze of nature pervades his language and poesy. Nay, poets as prophets are inexhaustible in sensuous allusions to the natural peculiarities of their home" (Furrer). This lively appreciation of nature is found also in *Jesus*: only think of his sensuous references to the "birds of the heavens, that neither sow nor reap, and yet are sustained by the Heavenly Father" (Matt. vi. 26), to the "flowers of the field, that labor not and spin not, and yet are more beautiful than Solomon in his royal glory" (Matt. vi. 28, 29), to the sparrows, of which "two are sold for a farthing, and yet not one of which falls to the ground without the knowledge and will of the Father in heaven" (Matt. x. 29), but especially his sensuous application of natural phenomena in the parables, an application that bears witness as well to his attentiveness to nature, as to his profound grasp of the religious relations. In this appreciation of the universal relation of nature to spirit and of spirit to nature, he contemplated the sower and his seed; the mingling of the tares with the wheat; the mustard-seed small of itself, yet developing to a tree-like plant; the seed that grows unobserved (Mark iv. 26-29). He needed not, indeed, to be prompted by "a nocturnal storm just breaking forth" to the comparison of the mysteriousness of the wind with the mysteriousness of the Spirit (John iii. 8); there was no need of a "herd of sheep just passing by" to suggest the comparison of himself with a shepherd, — a figure, indeed, that lay so near to the Israelite; the passing through vineyards, or the sight of the vine-branches which climbed into the room, or of the vine-shaped candlesticks in the temple — all this was superfluous when he wished to designate himself as the vine and his disciples as the branches. *Paul* seems to have been altogether different in this regard;¹ not only does

Paul.

¹ A like contrast is observable between the two great Reformers, Luther and Calvin, — Luther being in this regard quite analogous to Christ, whereas Calvin finds his prototype in Paul. — Tr.

the author of the account of the Pauline journeys leads us through Asia Minor and Greece without the least allusion to the natural phenomena of these countries, but even in his letters the Apostle himself displays nothing of that lively, delicate appreciation of nature which characterized the Master; *so* filled and pre-occupied is he by the thoughts and interests of the Christian spiritual life! On the other hand we find again that appreciation of nature in *James*, as when he compares the rich man and his riches with the flowers of the field which are withered by the scorching sun (i. 10, 11); when the waxing and waning light of the heavenly bodies reminds him of the "Father of lights, in whom there is no variableness nor shadow of turning" (i. 17); when the tameable and the untameable beasts furnish him a point of comparison with the untameable tongue (iii. 8), or when the tongue which serves as well for praising God as for cursing his image, man, is compared with a spring which brings forth brackish [bitter] as well as sweet water (iii. 10-12), etc. Here, indeed, there is not much that requires *explanation*; but if to the "understanding" belongs not merely an intelligent conceiving, but also a sympathetic appreciation, a true understanding of a biblical author, and of Jesus himself, is to be found only in him to whom that sensuous consideration of nature is not foreign. Only such a one also will have an insight into the connection between the natural features of the country and the spirit of its inhabitants — even of its divinely enlightened inhabitants.

74. Peculiarities of the Scenes of Jesus's Work.

But we have to do not only with appreciation for nature in general, but for *the* nature in which, namely, Jesus himself lived, and this appreciation presupposes a *knowledge* of the same. The discourses and facts cited in the Gospels took place in Galilee, and especially in the neighborhood of the Sea of Galilee and on the Jordan; they took place in Jericho and from there to Jerusalem and in the environs of this city. To him who is acquainted with these objects, either through faithful descriptions or from personal observation, the gospel history

The gospel history made life-like by acquaintance with the scenes.

will become incomparably more life-like than to another; he will be able to judge how far an abstract doctrinarianism, which refers each and everything in the words of Jesus to dogmatic mysteries or to symbols and allegories, is from the true understanding. He who knows how extraordinarily animated the Sea of Galilee and its shores were in the time of Jesus, how productive the fisheries were, — he who knows how suddenly storms often come down from the mountains and surprise the ships, and can represent this in phantasy, or partially reproduce it from memory, will be able to understand such passages as Matt. iv. 18 ff.; viii. 24 ff., et al., far more vividly than he to whom this help is wanting. To such a one it will also become clearer why Jesus in the account of the compassionate Samaritan laid the scene of the robbery on the road between Jericho and Jerusalem. In particular will the scenes in Bethany and on the way to Jerusalem be rendered luminous (Matt. xxi. 1–11, and especially Luke xix. 28–44). He will be able to throw himself into the situation of the conversation with the Samaritan woman at Jacob's well. And even although at the present time everything in Jerusalem, with the exception of the site, has undergone great change, yet only with the help of ancient and modern descriptions and photographic representations will the interpreter be able to represent to himself right clearly the occurrences recounted in the Gospels. In general, to one acquainted with the country much hitherto not noticed will appear significant, much regarded as unhistorical will appear historically true.

75. Unsolved Geographical Difficulties.

Much, it is true, still remains *difficult and enigmatical*. A well-known difficulty, pointed out already by Origen, is the assertion in John's Gospel, that John baptized at *Bethany* (i. 28); for there is no doubt whatever but that *βηθανία*, and not *βεθαβύρα*, is the genuine reading. It is self-evident that the well-known Bethany near Jerusalem cannot be meant. But what, if now — as Origen (Tom. VI. § 24) observes — there was no Bethany at all on the Jordan, but only a Bethabara,

Bethany
and Betha-
bara.

and this is given as the place where John baptized? It might only, indeed, be said that the author of the fourth Gospel, wishing to give himself the authority of accurate acquaintance, took counsel here of his uncertainty! But yet elsewhere he shows a good knowledge of the places and their situation; cf. iv. 6 f.; xi. 18. We must, therefore, suppose that Bethany on the Jordan was an unimportant place, which, after the calamities that had befallen the Jewish country, had in the third century, when Origen visited the country, vanished. We must, accordingly, after the example of a conjecture expressed in Fabricius, *Observat. Selectae*, and repeated by Wolf (*Curæ Philol. ad l.c.*), Rosenmüller, and recently by K. Furrer, refer *Βηθανία* to the etymology *בֵּית חַיָּה* (ship-house). Another difficult point is (Matt. viii. 28; Mark v. 1; Luke viii. 26) the region, where the demons were driven into the herd of swine. In the first place the reading is disputed, since Matthew according to the best witnesses, reads *Γαδαρηνῶν*, but Mark and Luke read *Γερασενῶν* (*Γερασηνῶν*). But *Γαδαρηνῶν* as well as *Γερασηνῶν* conflicts with the geography; cf. Origen, who declares that *Gadara* is a town in Judaea, in the neighborhood of which the celebrated baths are found, but no trace of a sea, or a precipice from which the herd of swine could plunge; but neither could *Gerasa* be the place in which the history happened, for *Gerasa* is a town in Arabia far from any sea and any precipice into a sea. On the other hand, the event is suitable to *Gergesa*, which is in the neighborhood of the Sea of Galilee, and of a precipice where the swine [could have] rushed down. So, too, the accurate manuscripts (according to Origen) have this reading. (Cf. Tischendorf, ed. 8, crit. maj. ad Marc. v. 1). Eusebius and Jerome, in the *Onomasticon*, also confirm this reading. In favor of this also is the fact that a ruin, *Gersa*, at the declivity of the Wady Semakh corresponds pretty well with the site which the Evangelists presuppose; cf. *W. Thomson*, *The Land and the Book*, p. 377; *Wilson* in the *Athenæum*, 1866, I. 438; *Furrer*, *Die Bedeutung der biblischen Geographie*, p. 18 f. But how, then, did the readings *Γαδαρηνῶν* and *Γερασηνῶν* arise? We must either

Gadara,
Gerasa and
Gergesa.

Locality of
the Sermon
on the
Mount.

suppose that Γεργεσινῶν has been changed by the revisers into Γερασινῶν, or that for the unknown Gergesa, sometimes Gadara, sometimes Gerasa, as the better known towns, was substituted. The question assumes a different form with reference to localities of important events not closely defined by the Evangelists: pre-eminently the locality of the so-called *Sermon on the Mount*; for even if it is beyond doubt that this discourse in Matthew has received an augment of many other expressions, and that even by Luke they are not reproduced in their original form, yet it is to be regarded as certain that the fact of a discourse lies at the foundation of these two, substantially identical, discourses, in which discourse Jesus expressed himself to his disciples on the regulations of the Kingdom of Heaven and on the conditions of entering the same. Since Matthew, as well as Luke, designates the locality upon which or in which this discourse was pronounced only by the general expression, used also elsewhere, τὸ ὄρος,¹ and since the tradition taken up since the thirteenth century, which calls the Kurun Hattin the "Mount of the Beatitudes," is altogether uncertain (cf. Robinson, III. 483 f.), we can, therefore, only hold that the mountain in question is not far from the Sea of Galilee and probably in the neighborhood of Capernaum (Tell Chum). Just as uncertain is the *Mount of the Transfiguration*. The Evangelists give no clue to the explanation, since Matthew and Mark speak in quite a general way of an ὄρος ὑψηλόν, and Luke, moreover, simply avails himself of the standing expression τὸ ὄρος. The only geographical indication in the text itself is the fact that the two first Synoptics, immediately before, relate an occurrence which had taken place in the region of Caesarea Philippi (Matt. xvi. 13 ff.; Mark viii. 27 ff.); accordingly Mount Hermon, in the neighborhood of this city, might be thought of; but the circumstance that the Transfiguration took place, according to Matthew and Mark, six days after that event, according to Luke eight days, makes this conjecture

Mount of
the Trans-
figuration.

¹ Cf. τὸ ὄρος Matt. v. 1; Luke vi. 12; Mark iii. 13.

altogether uncertain.¹ Since Cyril and Jerome, ecclesiastical tradition has designated the Tabor as the Mount of the Transfiguration; but this tradition also is of too late an origin to be built upon, and besides, Robinson (III. 464 ff.) has shown it as probable that at the time of Jesus a castle stood on the Tabor, — not a suitable place for a solemn scene! The most important disputed geographical question is that with reference to the genuine site of the *Holy Sepulchre*. Here especially must it be shown to what degree of probability the exegetical, historical, and geographical helps can bring this contested point. We can here give only the principal points, to which the biblical student has to direct his attention. The first question is: What say the evangelical accounts? The following passages here come into consideration: Matt. xxvii. 32; Mark xv. 21; Luke xxiii. 26, 33; John xix. 20, 41, 42, coll. xx. 2–4. These passages make throughout the impression that the place of skulls and the *sepulchre* were *outside of* the city, which is also in itself decidedly the most probable. But now the church of the Holy Sepulchre is found *inside* the present city, in the North-west part thereof, in the so-called Christian quarter. We have thus the alternative, *either* that the city of to-day extends considerably farther on this side than at the time of Jesus, *or* that the traditional site of the Holy Sepulchre is ungenuine. The second question is, accordingly, that with regard to the topography of the *ancient Jerusalem* and its relation to the present Jerusalem. On this point Josephus (Bell. Jud. V. 4) instructs us; from whom we learn that the upper city was separated from the Temple Hill by the Tyropoeon valley, and that the city in his time was surrounded by three walls. But of these, the third, as first built by Herod Agrippa, falls out of consideration. Yet apart from this, the description leaves us in doubt, 1) as to the precise direction of the Tyropoeon, and 2) as to the situation and direction of the second wall, and, in connection with this, how far the city stretched towards the North-

The Holy
Sepulchre.

Topography
of the an-
cient Jeru-
salem.

¹ The apparent discrepancy is easily accounted for by supposing different methods of reckoning in the two cases. — TR.

What says
history of
the Holy
Sepulchre?

west. On these points depends essentially, the decision of the question as to the genuineness or spuriousness of the Holy Sepulchre. Cf. *Schaffter*, on the genuine site of the Holy Sepulchre and *Tobler*, as above. But how much has befallen Jerusalem in the course of time, and how many changes of the ground has the place suffered? The third question, therefore, must be: What says *history* of the Holy Sepulchre? We meet with a mention of this place first in Eusebius (*Vita Const.* III. 23 f.), then in Socrates (I. 17), Sozomon (II. 1), and Jerome (Ep. 49 ad Paulin.); these writers relate, that this place had been demolished by godless men, and a temple of Venus erected on the spot, until Constantine at last removed the earth and the rubbish, and had a gorgeous basilica built on the spot, etc. But this basilica long since ceased to exist, having been destroyed in A.D. 614, when Judaea was invaded by the Persians. The Church of the Sepulchre was several times rebuilt, and as often destroyed again (sc. A.D. 969 and 1187). The present church of the Sepulchre, a work of the Greeks, dates only from A.D. 1810. History, therefore, gives us not the least clue to the genuine site of the Holy Sepulchre, and we turn, accordingly, as a last resort to the works of the new critical investigators, among whom, after Robinson, *Tobler* is the most thorough. Thus difficult is this question! Happily it is not immediately and necessarily connected with the exegesis. In every case these investigations are to be undertaken independently of the explanation of the text.

b) *The Historical.*

Principal Source: *Josephi*, Antiquit. Jud. I. XI.-XX. Helps, pre-eminently: *Hausrath*, Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte. *Ewald*, Geschichte Israels, Bd. IV.-VI. [This work has been also published in English]. *Keim*, Geschichte Jesu von Nazara, Bd. I. S. 173-306 [Vol. I. and II. in Eng.]; [*Schürer*, Geschichte der N. T. Zeitalter (Eng. in preparation)]; *Neander*, Planting and Training of the Christian Church (Robinson's ed.); *Gieseler*, Church History, Vol. I. *Andrews*, Life of our Lord; Various Articles in Smith's Dict. of the Bible].

76. Politico-religious Features. Sources.

He who passes from the Old Testament historical books — even from the books of Ezra and Nehemiah and the post-

exilian prophets — to the Gospels, finds, so to speak, everything changed; not only has the old Persian Empire, under which the Judaeans that returned lived, passed away three or four hundred years ago, but also the great Greek-Macedonian Empire — with its offspring, the Ptolemaic Empire in the South, and the Antiochian Empire in the North — had long since vanished; even the Maccabees or Asmonaeans, whose rise and heroic deeds are narrated in the first book of the Maccabees, and their priestly kingdom, together with the departing flower of the Jewish state, are no longer mentioned at all; even of the Herodians scarcely more than a shadow remains; on the other hand, the omnipotent Romans as the lords of the land, and Judaea under a Roman procurator! How has all this come about, and what are the more immediate circumstances of these great changes? Even in a *religious* relation so much has become different: there is an important difference, indeed, already between the condition of the people of which the ante-exilian prophet Jeremiah bears witness and the condition and spirit which pervade the prophets Haggai and Zechariah and the books of Ezra and Nehemiah, but a still greater difference between the post-exilian conditions and those of the time of Jesus and the Apostles; there we find the Pharisees and the Sadducees as long existing and well-known religious parties; we find a whole class of literati (*γραμματεῖς, νομοδιδάσκαλοι, νομικοί*), a traditional orthodoxy, and, side by side with the temple-worship, a synagogue-worship, and so much else. To be acquainted with this *politico-religious ground* on which Jesus and the Apostles moved and wrought is of the utmost importance for the understanding of the New Testament. *Josephus*, who is here throughout the principal source, gives in Book XI. of his Antiquities the period from the return from the Exile to Alexander, in XII. the history from Ptolemaeus Lagi to the death of Judas Maccabaeus, in XIII. the time from the death of Judas Maccabaeus to the death of Alexandra the daughter-in-law of Aristobulus, in XIV. from this time to the appointment of the Idumaeen Herod as king of Judaea by Caesar and the Roman senate; in XV. the fall

Great political changes

Religious changes.

Josephus the principal source.

of the Asmonaeon dynasty and the reign of Herod the Great till the building of the new temple, in XVI. the reign of Herod till the execution of his sons Alexander and Aristobulus, in XVII. the last years of Herod's reign till the deposition and banishment of Archelaus. Book XVIII. treats of the census of Quirinius, conducted by the tetrarchs Herod Antipas and Philip, then of the procuratorship of P. Pilatus to the conflict of the Jews with the Emperor Caius Caligula, XIX. of the death of Caius Caesar and the reign of Herod Agrippa I. to his death, and XX. from this point to the last procurator Gessius Florus and to the beginning of the Jewish war. It is obvious that for the history of Jesus books XVII. and XVIII. are especially important, for the understanding of which, however, a knowledge of the preceding history is necessary. With the last books of the Antiquities, however, the first books of the Jewish war, especially what is said of the last years of Herod the Great (I.), and of the events from the death of this ruler to the breaking out of the Jewish war (II.), are to be compared. The same author gives much that is worthy of attention in his autobiography and in his two books cont. Apionem. *Philo* also is important, not only as a representative of the Jewish-Alexandrine theosophy, but also on account of his description of the Therapeutae with whom the Essenes are related ("quod omnis probus liber"). With regard to customs, usages, and opinions of the Jews, to which allusion is frequently made in the New Testament, the *Talmud* and the *Rabbins* are of great importance, and hence the collections of Lightfoot, Schöttgen, Meuschen, Wetstein, and of Nork ("Rabbinische Parallelen zum N. T.") are very thankworthy. But in this, attention must be always directed to the matter of ascertaining whether the usages and opinions there adduced were current at the time of Jesus and the Apostles, or are of later origin.

77. N. T. Chronology.

A subject of the real explanation just as difficult as important is the *chronological*. The difficulty has its ground for the most part in the fact that the biblical historians have no era.

Philo.

Talmud and Rabbins.

Biblical historians have no era.

While the Greek historians have in their Olympiadic computation (B.C. 776), and the Roman historians in their reckoning *ab urbe condita* (B.C. 754), a fixed point of departure, the Oriental — and biblical — writers are without any such fixed point, reckoning according to the years of the reign of the rulers; cf. Amos i. 1; Hos. i. 1; Isa. i. 1 and vi. 1; Mic. i. 1; Jer. i. 2, 3; iii. 6; xxi. 1; xxv. 1; xxvi. 1; xxxii. 1; xxxv. 1; xxxvi. 1. An era, only transient, of course, for later writers was the Jewish deportation to Babylon by Nebuchadnezzar (Jer. xxiv. 1; xxxiv. 1; 2 Kings xxv. 27). In the time after the Exile the reckoning was according to the reigns of the Persian rulers (Ezra i. 1; Neh. ii. 1; Hagg. i. 1; Zech. i. 1). But the New Testament writers, with one exception, give no points of contact at all with profane history; but this one (Luke iii. 1, 2) is on this account so much the more important; but it does not suffice for determining chronologically even the most important facts in the life of Jesus. Still more defective are the chronological indications for the apostolic age. The question therefore arises, How under such circumstances can we attain to an at least approximate determination of the principal events of the New Testament? In the gospel history the procuratorship of Pilate (A.D. 14–36), and for the history of the birth and childhood of Jesus the mention of Herod the Great, form fixed points of contact (yet see § 78). For the history of the Apostles we have, in the death of Herod Agrippa I. (Acts xii. 23; Joseph. Antiq. XIX. 8, 2), and in the procuratorship of Felix (Acts xxiii. 24 ff.), and of Portius Festus (Acts xxiv. 27), welcome points of contact, since this change in the procuratorship took place probably towards the end of the year 60 (A.D.), and the two first years of Paul's imprisonment at Rome must in any case have preceded the conflagration of Rome and the Neronian persecution (A.D. 64); so it follows, that the imprisonment of Paul in Caesarea and Rome must lie within the period 59–64.

Post-exilic era.

Paucity of data for N.T. chronology.

78. Unsettled Chronological Questions.

Nevertheless, several *difficult questions*, as well in reference

to the history of Jesus as in reference to the apostolic era, remain. These, together with some indications as to how the interpreter is to act in relation to them, are here to be observed.

The year of
Jesus's
birth.

There is, first of all, the well-known question about the *year of Jesus's birth*. The principal passage from which we may hope to determine this point, and according to which the Roman abbot, Dionysius Exiguus, has reckoned the time at 753 A.U.C., is Luke iii. 1 coll. 23. Here, first of all, only the time of the appearance of John the Baptist is pointed out, but in that the baptism of Jesus is supposed to belong to the same year, and Jesus is declared in the latter passage to have been ἀρχόμενος ὥσεί ἐτών τριάκοντα, we may draw a conclusion with reference to the year of the appearance of Jesus himself. Knowing that Augustus died Aug. 19, 767 (U.C. = 14 A. Dion.), the fifteenth year of Tiberius = Aug. 781 to Aug. 782. Now it is still questionable whether this fifteenth year of Tiberius is reckoned from his coregency (764–765) or from his monarchy (767–768 A.U.C.); yet the latter is more probable. If now we reckon backward from 782, about twenty-nine years, we come to the Dionysian result of 753 A.U.C. as the year of Jesus's birth. But in this is presupposed, 1) That the fifteen years are reckoned from the monarchy of Tiberius, 2) that the baptism of Jesus took place in the same year in which the Baptist made his appearance, and 3) that the statement of Jesus's age is exact; but none of this is raised above doubt. A second chronological indication of Luke, that the appearance of the Baptist took place under the procuracy of Pontius Pilate (the year is not given), leads us to a time between 779 and 789. The third indication τετραρχούντος τῆς Γαλιλαίας Ἡρώδου κ. τ. λ. is by no means definite, for Herod Antipas reigned from 750 to 792.¹ Another chronological determination of the year of the birth of Jesus is drawn from Matt. ii., according to which Jesus must have been born in the last year of the reign of Herod the Great. But now Herod died already

¹ Just as little regard could be had to the disputed Lysanias (Luke i. 1, 2), as to the Census (Luke ii. 1 ff.).

in 750 A.U.C. (cf. *Wurm* in *Bengel's Archiv*. I. 26 f. *Ideler's Chronol.* II. 391 f. *Wieseler's Chronol. Synops.* 52 f.), and Jesus could accordingly have been born scarcely later than 748 A.U.C. Some have thought, also, to find a third help in the star of the Magi (Matt. ii. 2), and to be able to bring it into connection with a conjunction of Jupiter and Saturn, to which Mars came still later; but, to say nothing of the legendary character of the account, it must, in that case, have been not ἀστὴρ, but ἄστρον. All considerable chronologists and investigators of the life of Jesus agree in the more than probable conjecture that Jesus was born at least four or five years before the Dionysian era. But if it is declared that with the legend of the Magi the connection of Herod the Great with the birth of Jesus stands or falls, and if the statement in Luke (iii. 1) is held to be uncertain, any determination of the year of Jesus's birth from this indication must be given up. Not less disputed is the *year of Jesus's death*. On the ground of the Dionysian reckoning of the birth of Jesus, and the indication of the fourth Evangelist that Jesus's messianic activity embraced three Passovers (ii. 13; vi. 4; xii. 1, and xiii. 1), the view has been confirmed that Jesus died in the year thirty-three (A. Dion.). But this view is shaken not only through the conviction that the Dionysian reckoning of the year of Christ's birth is by several years too late, but also through the consideration that the Synoptics seem to know only of one Messianic year;¹ a consideration which receives a strong additional support from the doubt as to the historical character of the fourth Gospel. In any case it is indispensable for those that mean to go to work here only somewhat critically, either to prove in how far and why the Synoptics mention only one journey of Jesus to the feast, and hence seem to speak of but a ministry of a single year; or, to show on plausible grounds, why the fourth Gospel supposes a ministry of *three* years. Both are difficult. The

Year of
Jesus's
death.

¹ That the Synoptics give no intimation of the second and third Passover-feast is no sure evidence that they know nothing of these. The object of the narratives may have precluded the mention of the other Passovers.

attempts, from the *day* of Jesus's death, and especially from the darkness, to be calculated astronomically, to determine the year of his death, are thwarted already by the simple fact that this darkness, coming at the time of the (Paschal) full moon, cannot have been an eclipse of the sun. These are only the *elements* of the investigation of this subject. The exegete, as such, is seldom called upon to go beyond these elements, while to the historical student the thorough knowledge of the various hypotheses and a weighing of them is indispensable. Cf. esp. *Keim's Gesch. Jesu*,¹ III. 479 ff. Still more important than the dispute about the year of Jesus's death is that about the *day* of his death, — a controversy which, as is well known, rests upon a difference between the account of the Synoptics, according to which Jesus with his disciples partook of the Paschal meal itself, and died the day after (Matt. xxvi. 17; Mark xiv. 12, 14; Luke xxii. 7, 8, 15), and the Johannean representation, according to which Jesus partook of the last meal with his disciples *before* the Passover day, and died on the day on the evening of which the Paschal meal should first occur (xiii. 1; xviii. 28, coll. xix. 14). In two points, however, the Synoptics and John concur again, viz. 1) in the statement that the day of Jesus's death was the *παρασκευή* (Matt. xxvii. 62; Mark xv. 42; Luke xxiii. 54; John xix. 31, 42), and 2) that the first day of the week (*μία τῶν σαββάτων*) was the resurrection day (Matt. xxviii. 1; Mark xvi. 2; Luke xxiv. 1; John xx. 1). This matter, even after the many thorough investigations in this field,² which, of course, have had to take into consideration

The day of
Jesus's
death.

¹ This excellent work is being translated into English. Vols. i. and ii. have already appeared. — Tr.

² We mention here only *Wetzel*, *Die christliche Passahfeier der drei ersten Jahrhunderte*, 1848. *Steitz*, *Die Differenz der Occidentalen und der Kleinasien, Theol. Studien und Kritiken*, 1856, and Art. "Pascha," in Herzog's R. E. *Riggenbach*, *Die Zeugnisse für das Evang. Johan. Progr.* 1866. Per contra, *Hilgenfeld*, *Der Paschastreit und die Evang. Johan.* (Theol. Jahrbücher, 1849), *Das Johannes-Evang. und die Paschastreitigkeiten* (Theol. Jahrbücher, 1857), *Noch ein Wort über den Paschastreit* (Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie, 1858). *Baur*, *Der Paschastreit gegen Steitz* (Theol. Jahrbücher, 1857), *Entgegnung gegen Hrn. Dr.*

the Passover controversy of the second century, furnishes a subject for much thought. The decision depends, 1) on the exegetical explanation of the passage under consideration in John, 2) on the view of the relative credibility of the three first and the fourth Evangelists, and 3) on the punctum quaestionis in the Paschal controversies. There is an important chronological question with regard to the apostolic age, and especially with regard to the chronology of the life and activity of *Paul*. The principal passage here is Gal. ii. 1 coll. i. 18. But from what point are the fourteen years reckoned, after the lapse of which Paul made the journey to Jerusalem for the purpose of coming to an understanding with the original Apostles? It seems most natural, first of all, that it should have been reckoned from his first visit to Jerusalem. This took place, as seems to follow from i. 18, not until three years after his conversion; but the time of the latter event is, for the present, completely uncertain. Only so much must be granted, that the persecutions of those that confessed Christ, and hence the Christians themselves, must have become already by that time quite prevalent, which could only have been the case a considerable time after the decease of Jesus. But then not only the question "how long after this event?" but also the uncertainty with regard to the year of the death of Jesus, leaves us in the dark. This is the problem which awaits its solution. This problem becomes considerably more complicated through the difference between Acts ix. 20-29 and Gal. i. 16, 17; but especially through the question, whether the transaction Gal. ii. 1-10 is identical with the Apostolic convention Acts xv. How now are we to proceed in the face of such difficulties? By no means are we to seek, in the first instance, to clear up the relation between Acts xv. and Gal. ii., or to

Life and
activity of
Paul.

Steitz (*Zeitschrift für wissensch. Theol.*, 1857). *Keim*, *Gescht. Jesu von Naz.* III 457 ff. *Scholten*, *Das Evang. nach Johan.* übersetzt von Lang, p. 282 ff. [See also valuable discussions in *Robinson's* and *Gardiner's* Greek Harmonies. *Ginsburg*, Art. Passover in *Kitto's Cyc. of Bib. Lit.* *Smith's Dict. of the Bible* (Am. ed.), Art. "Passover," with numerous references to English and German works].

Method of
procedure.

aim at establishing any harmony at all between the two passages at all hazards; but we are, 1) *either* to take as our starting-point Gal. ii., etc., and with the utmost rigor explain this altogether independently of Acts xv., *or* to proceed in like manner with Acts xv. without reference to Gal. ii.; 2) then the other passage is to be compared with this, and the points of agreement and difference are, with all conscientiousness, to be brought out and the result estimated; 3) we are to make the chronological reference from Gal. ii. 1 to i. 18 and, if possible, still further, to the time of Paul's conversion, in which process the passage 2 Cor. xi. 32 coll. Josephus, XVIII. 5, 1 and 3 (mention of king Aretas) must be brought to our aid. How difficult these investigations are, is shown by a glance at the various results of students from Eusebius and the Chronicon Paschale down to Ewald and Wieseler, in that the conversion of Paul is put by Jerome and Petavius in the year 33 (A.D.), by Usher, Pearson, Hug, Sanclemente, Ideler, and Olshausen in 35, by Basnage, Michaëlis, Eichhorn, De Wette, Köhler, Schott in 37, by Winer, Anger, Ewald in 38, by Spanheim, Bertholdt, Wieseler in 40, finally by Wurm in the year 41.¹ Although it cannot be the calling of every exegete to make exhaustive studies of this and other chronological questions, yet it is every exegete's *duty*, if he comes to the explanation of the passages in question, at least to bring clearly before his mind the problem and to acquire the knowledge of the most essential means to the explanation.

79. Historical Difficulties.

The Census.

But, chronological difficulties aside, the interpreter runs upon *historical difficulties and contradictions*. We adduce here only the better known and more palpable. 1) The *Census* (Luke ii. 1 f.). This is at variance not only with Josephus

¹ The last edition of *Meyer's* Commentary on Acts contains a very valuable table, exhibiting the chronological results of most of the great investigators, with reference not only to Paul's conversion, but also the other prominent events of his life. *Dr. Hackett* fixes on A.D. 36 as the probable date of Paul's conversion. For much that is valuable on this whole subject see his very able Commentary on Acts. — Tr.

(Antiq. XVIII. 1, 1), but also with the political relations, inasmuch as Quirinius under whom the census is said to have been undertaken, was not proconsul of Syria until ten years later; inasmuch as a general census of the Empire could not at that time have extended to Palestine, Palestine not having become a Roman province until 759 (A.U.C.), and, inasmuch as, even if such a census had taken place, this would not have made it necessary for Joseph to repair with his betrothed from Nazareth to Bethlehem. Is the interpreter now to assume that Luke merely feigned the census in order to bring Joseph and Mary, in accordance with the legend, to Bethlehem? This would be frivolous. The exegete must rather endeavor to remove the contradiction, or at least to explain it. The following are such attempts at explanation: the limitation of the expression *πᾶσα ἡ οἰκουμένη* to the Roman Empire (*orbis terrarum*), an attempt which, however, leaves the principal difficulty unsolved; the supposition that a census, to be sure, occurred, but that this has erroneously been regarded as proceeding from Augustus (instead of from Herod), — a shift which, of course, would have to be otherwise confirmed. The only supposition left, therefore, is, that Luke, or rather his authorities, has fallen into an anachronism, and has transferred the notorious census (Joseph. l.c.; Acts v. 37) to the time of Jesus's birth, with which has been connected another unhistorical circumstance, the journey of Mary to Bethlehem. 2) *Lysa-* *Lysanias.* *nias* (Luke iii. 2). This person is said to have been tetrarch of Abilene in the fifteenth year of Tiberius; but, from history, is known to us only, on the one hand, an elder Lysanias, who was murdered by Antonius at the instigation of Cleopatra 718 A.U.C. (Joseph. Antiq. XV. 4, 1; Dio Cassius 49, 32), on the other hand, a younger Lysanias, who died in the time of the Emperor Caligula (Joseph. Antiq. XIX. 5, 1; Bell. Jud. II. 11, 5; 12, 8). Besides, the domain of that elder Lysanias is designated by Josephus as Chalcis, definitely distinguished from that of the younger, and Abila, as belonging only to the tetrarchy of the later Lysanias. Here the facts of the case are not clear

The Genealogies.

enough to admit of a decisive judgment. Whether a province of the elder Lysanias remained in his family, whether the later Lysanias belonged to the family of the elder, etc., must for the present rest entirely on itself. An anachronism, or a confounding of names, seems here also to find place.¹ 3) The *genealogies*² of Jesus furnish a two-fold difficulty (Matt. i. 1-17 and Luke iii. 23 to the end of the chapter): on the one hand, the difference of these among themselves, the genealogy in Luke numbering not only fifty-six members instead of forty-two between Jesus and Abraham, but also containing between Joseph and Zerubbabel, and then again between Salathiel and David, entirely different names. The explanations of these differences from the levirate marriage, or from the circumstance that Mary was an heiress, are familiar,—suppositions that only partially solve the difficulty. The notion that the one genealogy gives the line of Joseph, the other that of Mary should be forever buried and forgotten. The other difficulty lies in the contradiction between the intention of these genealogies, which consists in representing Jesus as a genuine descendant of David and Abraham (cf. also Rom. i. 3), and the supernatural birth which is narrated by precisely those Evangelists that have also the genealogy. That the Evangelists themselves perceived this contradiction and sought to remove it is evident from Matt. i. 16, and still more from Luke iii. 23. What now are exegesis and criticism to do here? No apologetics, of course, can change a whit the fact that—if Jesus sprang on the paternal side from David—he could not then have been supernaturally begotten, or if this, then he was not *ἐκ σπέρματος Δαυίδ*. The *literary* contradiction is easily solved: the Evangelists found the tradition that Jesus is of the seed of Abraham and David, as well as that of his supernatural conception; they gave both, and, at the same time, an intimation

¹ See *Godet* and *Meyer*, Comm. in loco; Smith's Dict. of the Bible, Art. Lysanias. — Tr.

² See *Godet*, Com. in loc. Luke, and Art. Genealogies in Smith's Dict. of the Bible. — Tr.

as to how, in their opinion, the contradiction is to be solved. The contradiction in the subject-matter is not, of course, thus removed.

4) The difference concerning the day of Jesus's death has already been mentioned.¹ Even after the thorough attempts at solution by Steitz and Riggenbach, the unprejudiced interpreter, who takes the text as it is, cannot be persuaded

Different accounts of the day of Jesus's death.

that the fourth Evangelist also makes Jesus to keep the Passover feast with his disciples and to die on the Sabbath of the feast, nor of the fact that *φάγειν τὸ πάσχα* (John xviii. 28) may mean anything else than to eat the Paschal lamb; since Deut. xvi. 2-8 (LXX) proves nothing for the view that that expression may also stand for the eating of unleavened bread.

5) A greater stone of offence are the differences and contradictions in the *history of the resurrection*. We discuss here only the more

History of the resurrection.

considerable: α) According to Mark (xvi. 8) the women returning from the sepulchre by reason of their fear said nothing [*οὐδὲν εἶπον*]; but according to Luke (xxiv. 9-11) they recounted everything to the eleven disciples, but found no credence;

β) The risen Jesus appeared according to 1 Cor. xv. 5 (coll. Luke xxiv. 34) first of all to Peter; but according to John (xx. 14 ff.) and, according to the appendix in Mark (xvi. 9), first of all to Mary Magdalene; γ) in general, between the time, the places, and the persons to whom the risen Jesus appeared, there is no agreement; especially astonishing is it, that of the five hundred brethren to whom he appeared, according to 1 Cor. xv. 6, the Evangelists seem to know nothing at all; finally, δ) in one and the same Evangelist there is a

contradiction in reference to the corporeality of the risen Jesus, cf. Luke xxiv. 31 with 39, and John xx. 19 and 26 with 27 f. But to conclude from this contradiction that Christ did *not* arise is, to say the least, hasty; and to infer from John xx. 14 and Mark xvi. 9 that the Apostles' faith in the resurrection is to be referred to the hallucination of the nervously excited

¹ Cf. *Godet*, Comm. in loc., John and Luke; *Robinson and Gardiner*, Greek Harmonies, in loc.; *Andrews*, Life of our Lord; *Farrar*, Life of Christ. — Tr.

Mary Magdalene [Rénan] is a frivolity against which we cannot express ourselves emphatically enough. But it is a frivolity of another kind, in the service of a dishonest apologetics, to deny the contradiction or to reduce it to an unimportant dimension. An unprejudiced exegesis and criticism must say: However it may be with the appearance of the Risen One, *two* facts remain firm and unassailable; the one, that on the first day of the week, early in the morning, women (whether only one, or two, or three) came to the grave, and found it empty; the other, that some time afterwards, the disciples, previously in consternation, became full of courageous faith that Christ has risen. What lies between these two points we shall indeed never know with perfect clearness.¹

6) In the history of the Apostle Paul there is a contradiction in the fact that, according to Acts ix. 26 f., Paul travels, soon after his conversion, from Damascus to Jerusalem, and goes in and out with the original Apostles, while he himself asserts (Gal. i. 17, 18) that he journeyed not at once to Jerusalem, but first to Arabia, and not until three years afterwards visited Peter in Jerusalem.² The interpreter will now, perhaps, endeavor so to interpret the account in the Acts, and so to extend the time between Damascus and Jerusalem that the contradiction may dwindle as much as possible; but the conscientious exegete will allow the idleness of this endeavor, and will be obliged to acknowledge the inaccuracy of the account

Principles.

in Acts. In general, in view of such difficulties and contradictions, the following principles cannot be sufficiently impressed upon the exegete and critic:

Modesty.

1) *modesty*, in that in many cases no absolutely certain results, but only a greater or less degree of probability, is attainable, and, after all attempts at explanation, a Socratic ignorance is very becoming to the investigator; but, especially,

Veracity.

2) *veracity*, to which not ingenious contrivances, but simply the subject-matter is im-

¹ Cf. on all the passages concerned *Meyer's Commentaries*, on those in Luke and John, Godet's remarkably clear discussions. — Tr.

² Cf. on the passage in Acts, *Hackett* and *Meyer*; on the passage in Galatians, *Lightfoot*, *Ellicott*, and *Meyer*. — Tr.

portant, and which does not wish to save at all hazards the traditional and "orthodox" view, and does not do violence to the text and to history "in majorem Dei gloriam," since here, as elsewhere, the *principle is to be rejected, that the end sanctifies the means.*

80. Passages requiring special investigation.

If the general knowledge of the post-exilian history, and of the history of the New Testament time must precede all exegetical explanation, so very many passages of the Gospels, Acts, and Epistles require *special* investigations and explanations. 1) A knowledge of the *political* personages and relations, of which mention is made in the New Testament, is necessary; as of *Herod the Great*, who meets us, indeed, only in the preliminary account in Matthew, but who exercised a great influence on the development of Jewish affairs. On Herod the Great, Josephus, and especially his excellent characterization (Ant. XVI. 5, 4), is to be compared. In the same preliminary account mention also is made of *Archelaus*, the son and successor of Herod; and, casual as this mention is, yet confirmation and illustration is received from Josephus, Ant. XVII. 11, 4; 13, 2; Bell. Jud. II. 7, 3. *Herod Antipas* is immediately embraced in the gospel history (Luke iii. 19; ix. 17 f.; xiii. 31; Matt. xiv. 1 ff.; Luke xxiii. 6 f.) and on him also is Josephus (Ant. XVIII. 4, 5) to be compared. Josephus (l.c. § 2) is of special interest with reference to the imprisonment of John the Baptist and the grounds of it. But the most important personage¹ in the Gospel history is *Pontius Pilate*, the sixth procurator of Judaea (Luke iii. 1; xiii. 1; Matt. xxvii.; Mark xv.; Luke xxiii.; John xviii. and xix.), on whom also Josephus (Ant. XVIII. 3, 1 ff.; 4, 1; Bell. Jud. II. 9, 2) is to be compared. For unlike estimates of this man, see, among others, Tholuck on the one side and Olshausen on the other. Of his successors only *Felix* (Acts xxiii. 26 f.; xxiv. 22, 24-26) and *Portius Festus* (Acts xxiv. 27; xxv. 1 ff.) are mentioned, cf. Joseph. Ant. XX. 8, 5, et al. The testimony of Tacitus about

Political personages.

Herod the Great.

Archelaus.

Herod Antipas.

Pontius Pilate.

Felix.

Festus

¹ Political personage is of course meant. — TR.

Felix is important (Hist. V. 9, also Annal. XII. 54) : "... per omnem saevitiam ac libidinem jus regium servili ingenio exerceuit." On Portius Festus cf. besides Acts xxiv. 27 ; xxvi. 31, also Josephus, Ant. XX. 8, 9, 11 ; 9, 1. Of Jewish rulers, besides Herod Antipas, are mentioned still, Herod *Agrippa* I., on whose mortal sickness cf. Acts xii. 23, with Josephus, Ant. XIX. 8, 2 — and Herod *Agrippa* II. (Acts xxv. 13, 26 ; Joseph. Ant. XIX. 9, 2 ; XX. 1, 1 ; 5, 2, and especially 7, 1 ; Bell. Jud. II. 12, 8). Besides these principal political personages of the history of the New Testament time, others still occur, which though they play no principal role, yet help to characterize the political relations : such are pre-eminently the publicans (τελωναι), who, though Jews, are ranked as a despised class with the ἀμαρτωλοῖς. On the political position and the functions of these Roman subordinate officials, cf. Livy, XXV. 3 ; XXXII. 7 ; XLV. 18 ; Tacitus, Annal. XIII. 50 ; Dio Cassius XLII. 6, also Lightfoot, Horae Hebraeicae, p. 286, 396. Of the religio-political fermentation, that broke out from time to time, Judas Galilaeus (Acts v. 37), or Gaulonites (Joseph. Ant. XVIII. 1, 1, 6 ; 2, 1 ; Bell. Jud. II. 17, 7-19) gives a striking proof. Gamaliel, indeed, speaks of this uprising (Acts v. 37) as long since and promptly suppressed ; but from Josephus (l.c.) we learn that Judas the Gaulonite left behind him a party which persisted till the Jewish war, and played an important part in the breaking out of this war. The Γαλιλαῖοι also, of whom Luke makes mention (xiii. 1) probably belonged to this party. On the other hand, the mention of Theudas (Acts v. 36) is difficult, for Josephus, indeed, also speaks of a rebel leader Theudas (Ant. XX, 5, 1), but this one was active far later. We must, therefore, either suppose that there were two of this name, and that Josephus has failed only through accident to mention the earlier, or that an anachronism is found in Acts v. 36. 2) Still more essential is the knowledge of the *religious* relations. The *high-priest*, as is well known, takes the first place in the hierarchical organism, and hence the knowledge of his office, of his functions, etc., accord-

Herod
Agrippa I.

Publicans.

Judas
Galilaeus.

Theudas.

Religious
relations.
High-priest.

ing to the Old Testament declarations (Ex. xxviii.; Lev. xvi.; Numb. iii. 32; xx. 28; Deut. x. 6) is to be presupposed. But in the New Testament the expression ἀρχιερεῖς in the plural frequently occurs (Matt. xxi. 45; xxvi. 3, 14; xxvii. 1, 20, 62; xxviii. 11, al.). How is this to be understood? It must be borne in mind that in the Syrian, Herodian, and Roman periods much arbitrariness concerning the choice and the deposition of the high-priest found place (cf. Joseph. XV. 3, 1; XX. 10; 1 Macc. vii. 9; Joseph., Bell. Jud. IV. 3. 6, 8), so that instead of the one that was invested with the office, there were *several* who had been invested with the office; and although no longer in the office, yet still stood in authority. The *Sanhedrin* Sanhedrin. (Talm. סנהדרין) as the highest theocratical tribunal is, as is natural, frequently mentioned in the New Testament, by no means always under this name indeed, but as οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι, or οἱ ἀρχ. (ὁ ἀρχ.), οἱ γραμματεῖς καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι τοῦ λαοῦ (Matt. xxvi. 3, 57; Mark xiv. 53; xv. 1; Luke xxii. 66). By Josephus this institution is mentioned for the first time, Ant. XIV. 9, 3, 4. On the constitution and the prerogatives of this tribunal the Talmud (tract. Sanhedrin) is especially to be compared. See *Selden*, De Synedriis et Praefecturis Vet. Hebr. *Relandi*, Antiq. Sacrae II. 7. *Winer's Bibl. Realwörterbuch* s. v. *Leyrer* in Herzog's R. E., where also the literature is exhibited. A new phenomenon, furthermore, for one that comes immediately from the Old Testament to the New is the *synagogue worship* (cf. Matt. xiii. 54; Mark Synagogue
worship. vi. 2; Luke iv. 16, in Nazareth; Mark i. 21; Luke iv. 33; Matt. xii. 9; John vi. 59. But according to Acts ix. 2 in Damascus also; xiii. 14 at Antioch in Pisidia; xiv. 1 in Iconium; xvii. 1 in Thessalonica; xvii. 10 in Beroea; xviii. 4 in Corinth; xviii. 19 in Ephesus). As regards the origin of this institution no credit, of course, is to be given to the Jewish tradition which, on the ground of Deut. xxxi. 11 f., and Ps. lxxiv. 8, refers it to Moses. Josephus makes mention of it first Bell. Jud. VII. 3, 3; but from this we need not decide upon so late an origin; the probability is rather, that the need

of such worship arose in the Exile, and that the institution itself was formed in the period succeeding the Exile, on the ground of the standing custom of reading the law (Neh. viii. 1 f.) and on account of the *διασπορά* of the Jews. On the order of the synagogue worship the Talmud (Jerusalem Megill. 75, 1) and Philo (Opp. II. 458, 476, especially 630 and 631) inform us. The summum opus on the synagogue is Camp. *Vitringa*, De Synag. Veterum. Franek. 1696. Cf. further, *The Scribes*. *Winer* l. c. and *Leyrer* l. c. In the Gospels we meet frequently also the so-called *scribes* (*γραμματεῖς, νομοδιδάσκαλοι, νόμικοι*), yet the expression *סופרים* occurs already frequently in the Old Testament, and the matter itself Ezra vii. 11, 21. After the Exile, as is well-known, the more genial and popular "wisdom" (*חכמה*) gave place more and more to legal learning, and "scribes" took the place of prophets and popular orators. On the subject and the manner of this legal learning cf. Josephus, Ant. XVII. 6, 2; XVIII. 3, 5. The aggregate results of this learning have been recorded in the Talmud. But the old proverbial, popular and apothegmatic wisdom also still maintained its place, cf. the *Pirke Aboth*.¹ The contrast is remarkable between the picture which the New Testament sketches (Matt. v. 20; vi. 1 ff.; xv. 1-14, especially vs. 23; Luke xi. 39-52) and the pictures which the Jewish writers sketch of the "scribes," especially of the most distinguished among them, Schammai and Hillel, Simon the Just, Juda the Holy, and others. The contrast is explicable from the fact that Jesus judged this class from the point of view of the simple and original word of God, or from the stand-point of the people and what the people need; the Jewish authors, on the contrary, judged it from the stand-point of the national learning and dignity. Cf. *Winer* as above, and *Leyrer*, s. v. in *Herzog*.

Importance
of a knowl-
edge of the
Jewish
sects.

The knowledge of the Jewish sects is also important for the understanding of the New Testament. Misled, on the one

¹ An English translation of the *Pirke Aboth* (Ethics of the Fathers) together with an unpointed text has been recently published in England. There is also a German translation, with pointed text by Ewald. It will be found very instructive from a religio-historical point of view. — Tr.

hand, by a one-sided consideration of many passages in the New Testament; on the other hand, by Josephus (Ant. XIII. 5, 9; XVIII. 1; Bell. Jud. II. 8) men have formed an incorrect idea of the *Pharisees*, as if they had been all either conscious hypocrites, hypocrites by profession, or as if they had been religious philosophers, because they are compared by Josephus with the Stoics. But we know that the descriptions of the Jewish historian are to be taken cum grano salis, inasmuch as he has striven to make the Jewish customs and opinions as acceptable as possible to his Greek-Roman readers. As regards then the reproach of hypocrisy, a knowledge of the rise and development of this sect is, before everything else, necessary for the proper characterization thereof. That they were zealots for the ceremonial law is clear from all the principal passages of the New Testament, cf., besides, Matt. xv. and xxiii., also Acts xxiii. 3; xxvi. 5, coll. Gal. i. 14. But this fundamental feature may be traced back to the time of Ezra and Nehemiah (cf. Ezra ix. f.; Neh. viii. f.). This tendency received a new impulse, in opposition to the Greek innovations, through the Maccabaeen uprising, which was nothing else than the heroic reaction of the zealous legalistic national spirit against the penetrating heathen character, cf. 1 Macc. ii., esp. vs. 27. Josephus mentions the Pharisees for the first time Ant. XIII. 5, 9 (about B.C. 145), but it is not to be concluded from this that they at that time first made their appearance. Pharisaism is nothing else than the consequence of the post-exilian, legalistic Judaism; and from this fact is to be explained, to be sure, as well the interpretation of the law and tradition losing itself in casuistic minutiae, as the ascetic piety degenerating more and more into externality: hence the not unfounded reproach of hypocrisy which they have incurred. Cf. *Schnekenburger*, Beitrge, p. 69 ff., *Winer*, R. W. B., s.v. and *Leyrer*, in Herzog, s.v. The counterpart of the Pharisees formed the *Sadducees*, *Sadducees*, who are represented in the New Testament as deniers of the existence of the spiritual world and of the resurrection (Matt. xxii. 23; Mark xii. 18; Luke xx. 27; Acts xxiii. 8). But

the fundamental difference between them and the Pharisees consisted less in this than in their rejection of oral tradition. From the fact that they held themselves strictly to Scripture, and deemed of no account the development of doctrine through the post-exilian theology (Joseph. Ant. XIII. 10, 6) is to be explained as well their rejection of the resurrection and of immortality, nowhere clearly taught in the older books of the Old Testament (cf. also, Joseph. Bell. Jud. II. 8, 14), as of the post-exilian development of the doctrine of angels and demons. The *Essenes* are nowhere mentioned by name in the New Testament, but inasmuch as Col. ii. really refers to Essenean customs and opinions, and, inasmuch as the Epistle of James is an Ebionitic product, and the Ebionites proceeded from Essenism (cf. *Credner*, Ueber Essäer und Ebioniten und einen theilweisen Zusammenhang derselben, and *Baur*, De Ebionitarum origine et doctrina, ab Essenis repetenda), a knowledge of the *Essenes* is necessary to the interpreter of the parts of the New Testament named. The sources are Joseph. Ant. XIII. 5, 9; XVIII. 1, 2-6, esp. Bell. Jud. II. 8, 2-13. *Philo* on the Therapeutae in his writing "Quod omnis probus liber." Coll. Pliny, Hist. Nat. V. 17. Cf. also, besides *Credner* and *Baur*, *Ullhorn* s.v. in *Herzog*. The mention of the *Samaritans* in the New Testament necessitates also a knowledge of the history of this mixed people, and of the relation of the Jews thereto. On this point are to be compared Ezra iv.; Joseph. Ant. XI. 1, 2; 4, 3 f., 9; XII. 5, 5; XIII. 9, 1; 10, 2; XIV. 5, 3; *Ewald*, History of Israel; *Winer*, R. W. s.v., and the elaborate article by *Petermann* in *Herzog*. The explanation of the Acts of the Apostles and of the Pauline Epistles requires also a knowledge of the countries and peoples of Asia Minor, especially of Galatia (cf. Strabo XII. 566 f.; Livy, XXXVII. 8, and XXXVIII. 12, 18; Justin. XXV. 2; Dio Cass. 53, p. 514; Joseph. Ant. XVI. 6), of Ephesus (cf. Strabo XIV. 632, 640 f., al. *Winer's* R.W. s.v.), of Greece in general in the last centuries before the rise of Christianity, especially of Corinth since its overthrow by

Essenes.

Samaritans.

Countries
and Peoples
of Asia
Minor.

Mummius (B.C. 146, cf. Livy, Epit. 52; Strabo, VIII. 378 ff., Pausan. II. 1 ff.).¹ From the examples adduced it is clear, how from the comparison of the extra-biblical accounts with the New Testament accounts a new light is spread over the latter, and how important the more comprehensive and thorough knowledge of these things is for the New Testament interpreter.

81. Importance of Knowledge of Jewish Customs.

Furthermore, the knowledge of Jewish *customs* is of importance and interest. a) Of specifically religious customs and usages the feasts, especially the Passover (Matt. xxvi. 17 ff.; Mark xiv. 12 ff.; Luke xxii. 1 ff.; John. ii. 13; xiii. 1 ff.), the Feast of Tabernacles (John vii. 2 f.), and the Feast of Pentecost (Acts ii. 1 f.) are the most important. On these the Old Testament is the most valuable source of information; on the Passover (Heb. פסח; Aram. נפסח), or the feast of unleavened bread (ἡ ἑορτὴ τῶν ἀζύμων פסח), Ex. xii. 1-28; Lev. xxiii. 4-14; Numb. xxiii. 16 ff.; Deut. xvi. 1-8), furthermore, Joseph. (Ant. XVII. 9, 3; Bell. Jud. VI. 9, 3) and the Talmud (Tract. Pesachin. ch. 5) are to be compared. On the feast of Tabernacles (σκηνοπηγία, פסח של סוכות) cf. Lev. xxiii. 33 ff.; Num. xxix. 12 ff.; Deut. xvi. 16 ff.; Joseph. III. 10, 4; XIII. 8, 2; 13, 8. On the feast of Pentecost (πεντηκοστή, פסח של שבועות or פסח של שבועות) cf. Ex. xxiii. 16 f.; Lev. xxiii. 15 f.; Numb. xxviii. 27 ff.; Deut. xvi. 9 ff.; Joseph. Ant. III. 10, 6; XIV. 3, 4; XVII. 12, 2; Bell. Jud. II. 3, 1. In the Epistle to the Hebrews (ix. 7) allusion is also made to the Great Day of Atonement, on which cf. Lev. xvi. 23, 26 ff.; Num. xxix. 27 ff., coll. Joseph. Ant. III. 10, 3; XIV. 6, 4, and the Talmud (Tract. Joma, in Mishna II. 5). But most important of all for the explanation of the Gospels, especially on account of the frequent conflicts of Jesus with the hierarchs (Matt. xii. 1-8; Luke vi. 6-11; xiii. 10-17; xiv. 1-6; John v. 10 ff.; vii.

Religious
customs.

Passover.

Feast of
Tabernacles

Great Day
of Atonement.

¹ On the places mentioned in the text, cf. *Conybeare and Howson, Life and Epp. of St. Paul*, and the various articles in *Smith's Dict. of the Bible* (Am. ed.). — Tr.

- Sabbath.** 22, 23; ix. 16) is the ordinance of the *weekly Sabbath*, on which, besides the Old Testament principal passages (Ex. xx. 8-11; xxxi. 12-17; xxxv. 1-3; Lev. xxiii. 3; Num. xxviii. 9; Deut. v. 12-15; Jer. xvii. 19 ff.; Neh. xiii. 15-22) Joseph. Cont. Ap. II. 39, and the Talmud, especially Mishna, Schabbath
- Purificatory rites.** 22 and 24, are to be compared. As in the observance of the Sabbath so in their *rites of purification*, the Pharisees were very micrological and casuistical, a circumstance which likewise gives occasion for conflicts (cf. Mark vii. 3 ff.; Matt. xv. 2 ff.; xxiii. 25 f.; Luke xi. 39 f.) On this point, likewise, the Rabbins are to be compared, see Lightfoot, Hor. Hebr. p. 366 ff., in which, however, it is not to be forgotten that the rites of purification of the Egyptians (cf. Herod. II. 37), of the Persians (cf. Vendidad, 3d-9th Fargard), and of the Indians (the Laws of Manu) were just as rigorous and minute as those of the Jews, yea, even more minute. That Jewish piety, as for the rest, consisted chiefly of the three parts, alms-giving, praying, and fasting, is evident from Matt. vi. 1-18.
- Alms-giving, fasting, and prayer.** On alms-giving cf. Prov. xxii. 9; xxviii. 27; then Sirach vii. 32 f., pre-eminently Tob. xii. 9; xiv. 11; Acts x. 2, 31. There is no ordinance of *prayer* in the Pentateuch, yet, as in all religions, the custom is to be understood of itself. But in the Sermon on the Mount the polemics of Jesus is directed against the opus operatum of praying, and against the ostentation practised in connection therewith. The opus operatum seems to have crept in very soon after the Exile; at least it appears, e.g. in Dan. vi. 11; Tob. xii. 9; Judith iv. 12, as an essential part of piety, and was performed not only on all important occasions, but also at stated times; in which, moreover, other peoples also agree with the Jews, e.g. the Egyptians (cf. Porphyr. De. Abst. 4, 8). But the most culpable thing was the ostentation practised in connection with prayer (Matt. vi. 5), on which the Rabbins in Lightfoot, Hor. Hebr. p. 292; Wetst. I. 321, are to be compared, and the notion that *long* prayers are pleasing to God and efficacious (Matt. vi. 7) coll. Jerusalem Talmud, Taanith. f. 67, 3; Babylonian Talm. Berach.

32, 2; 54. 2), which is reproached by Jesus as heathenish. For examples of heathen litanies see in Lightf. p. 295, coll. Etym. M. and Suid. ad v. Βάττος, βαττολογεῖν. Neither with regard to *fasting* does Jesus condemn it per se, but likewise, only the ostentation (Matt. vi. 16), and the thoughtless opus operatum in connection with fasting (cf. Matt. ix. 15 f.). That this general Oriental custom, very commendable and well-founded in its principle, had likewise come, little by little, to be regarded as an opus operatum and a meritorious work, with which also parade was sometimes practised among the Pharisees, is in part self-evident and in part is proved by witnesses outside of the New Testament, cf. e.g. 1 Macc. iii. 47; Talmud Tr. Joma 8, 1; Babyl. Taanith 12, 2; 13, 2. Cf. Winer's R. W. and Herzog's R. E. s. v. *b*) Of *civil* customs and usages we adduce only the divorce and funereal mourning. The expressions of Jesus, Matt. v. 31 and xix. 3 ff., are directed against a reprehensible laxity in the matter of divorce. What were *Civil customs.* *Divorce.* the Jewish ordinances and usages in this relation? According to Deut. xxii. 13-19 and 28, 29 a man could not separate himself from his wife either if he had unjustly given her a bad reputation, or had cohabited with her as a maiden. On the other hand, he may separate himself from her, if he find anything disgraceful (דָּבָר בְּזוּי, LXX ἀσχημον πρᾶγμα) in her; only he is to furnish her with a letter of divorcement (שְׁטֵרֵת דִּבְרוֹת, LXX βίβλιον ἀποστασίον, Deut. xxiv. 1-4). On the idea of the דָּבָר בְּזוּי now, at the time of Jesus, the schools of Hillel and of Shammai were in controversy, the former extending this expression to everything displeasing to the man,¹ but the latter limiting it to what is disgraceful and unseemly (not just to adultery merely). On this matter the Talmud is very prolix and sets forth a host of micrological distinctions (Tr. Ghittin and Seder Nashim, cf. Lightfoot, p. 273 f.). To the *lax* interpretation and custom the question of the Phar-

¹ A man might divorce his wife if she burned his food, in preparing it. Cf. Delitzsch's polemical tract, Jesus und Hillel, written against Geiger and Rénan. — Tr.

Mourning.

isees (Matt. xix. 3), whether it is allowable to put away one's wife *κατὰ πᾶσαν αἰτίαν*, relates; but Jesus not only sets forth the more rigorous principle of Shammai, but he even goes back of the Mosaic, to the *original idea* of the connection between man and woman (Gen. ii. 24). In Matt. ix. 23; Mark v. 38; John xi. 19, 31 allusion is made to the Jewish *custom of funereal mourning*, yet without furnishing us with data for a clear picture of the custom. Illustrations from Jewish authors would be, therefore, very welcome. There are such illustrations also with regard to the postures of the mourners and the duration of mourning. Matt. l.c. in particular is elucidated by Jer. ix. 16 (mourning women מִתְקַדְּמִין) coll. 2 Chron. xxxv. 25, and especially by passages in the Talmud (Chetuboth ch. 4; halac. 6; Bava Mezia ch. 6; halac. 1 in Lightf. ad loc.). That, moreover, among the Greeks and Romans similar customs also prevailed the passages cited in Wetstein prove (I. 362). John xi. 19, 31 refers to a burdensome custom which is confirmed and elucidated by passages from the Talmud. cf. Lightf. p. 1070. Thus we see that many passages which either might remain unobserved, or which from prepossession we should be inclined to regard as unhistorical, find their explanation through acquaintance with the Jewish customs.

82. Knowledge of Jewish Doctrines and Opinions.

Most important helps.

Almost more essential still to the understanding of the New Testament is the knowledge of *Jewish doctrines and opinions* at the time of Jesus and the Apostles. So far as they rest upon the Law and the Prophets, these customs and opinions receive their explanation from the Old Testament, and hence the knowledge of the Old Testament religious ideas is an indispensable foundation for the exegesis of the New Testament. The most important helps for acquiring this knowledge are: *De Wette*, *Biblische Dogmatik des A. und N. T.*, 3 Aufl. 1831. *L. F. O. Baumgarten-Crusius*, *Grundzüge der biblischen Theologie*, 1828. *D. Von Cölln*, *Biblische Theologie*, Bd. I. ed. D. Schulz, 1836. *Ewald*, *History of Israel*, es-

pecially the Antiquities of the Israelites. *S. Lutz*, *Biblische Dogmatik*, ed. Rüttschi, 1847. *Steudel*, *Vorlesungen über die Theologie des A.T.*, ed. Oehler, 1840. *Hävernicks*, *Vorlesungen über die Theologie des Alt. Test.*, ed. Hahn, 1848. *Oehler*, *Artt. Jehova, Messias, Prophetenthum, Weissagung, Unsterblichkeit*, in Herzog's R. E. — especially *H. Schulz*, *Alttestamentliche Theologie*, 2 vols. 1869. On Old Testament prophecy we are to compare especially: *Hitzig*, *Der Prophet Jesaja*, introduction (1833). *Knobel*, *Der Prophetismus der Hebräer*, 1837. *Köster*, *Die Propheten des A. und N. T.*, 1838. *Hengstenberg*, *Christology of the O. T.* *K. A. Auberlen*, *The Prophet Daniel and the Revelation of John*, *Hofmann*, *Weissagung und Erfüllung*, 1841 and 1844. *Ewald*, *Die Propheten des A. Bundes*, (Introd.). *Bertheau*, *Die Alttestamentliche Weissagung von Israëls Reichsherrlichkeit*, in the *Jahrbüchern für deutsche Theologie*, 1859. Per contra, *Oehler* in the *Art. Weissagung* in Herzog. *Bleek*, *Introduction to the O. T.* *Bunsen*, *God in History*, part I. [*Tholuck*, *Die Propheten und ihre Weissagungen*; *R. Payne Smith*, *Prophecy a Preparation for Christ*]. It is to be borne in mind, that the conceptions, as well as the national relations, of the Jewish people changed. The contact with the Chaldeans, hostile indeed, but still cognate, with Parsaism (whose influence has, to be sure, been overestimated); then the ever more antagonistic exclusiveness with regard to everything heathen, which, however, could not always be entirely shunned; the dividing up of Judaism into exclusive Palestinians and Hellenists, into those that believed in tradition and ascetics, into deists and mystics; furthermore, the learning and its schools, and finally, the pressing in of Greek, especially of Platonic ideas — all this must affect essentially the religious consciousness of the Jewish people. We must know how to transpose ourselves into this world of later, but to us so entirely foreign views, in order to understand the New Testament in this aspect also. The sources of information are, 1) the post-exilian books of the Old Testament Canon, 2) the Apocrypha and

Change of
Jewish con-
ceptions,
etc.

Pseudepigraphs, 3) the writings of Philo, and 4), with restriction, the Talmud and the Rabbins. For exegetes of the New Testament the knowledge of the following ideas and conceptions is of especial importance: α) the more thoroughly wrought out doctrine of angels, which is evident from many New Testament passages, e.g. Luke i. 19, 26; Jude 9; Rev. vii. f., coll. Dan. xii. 1; Tob. v. 4, as also the developed belief in Satan and in demons; for as the Jewish theology of that time taught a whole hierarchia coelestis of angels under their chief, the archangel Michael (Dan. i. c.; Rev. xii. 7), who, at the same time, is the guardian angel of Israel; so there was also according to this theology a hierarchia infernalis, under Βεελζεβούλ, the ἄρχων τῶν δαιμονίων, cf. Matt. xii. 24 on which Lightf. and Wetstein may be compared. On the one hand, we find Satan or the Adversary, no longer, as in the Book of Job, as a member of the council of God, but, in an almost dualistic way, over against God; on the other hand, there are the gods of the heathen that are thought of as existing but as evil spirits, as the name Beelzebul (Beelzebub) indicates, and 1 Cor. viii. 5 coll. x. 19–21 shows more clearly, coll. Deut. xxxii. 17 (LXX); Ps. xcv. (Heb. xevi.) 5; Baruch iv. 7. β) The Alexandrine doctrine of the Logos, to which the prologue of John immediately, Heb. i. 1–3 and other passages mediately, refer. On this cf. *Gfrörer's* Philo, I. 168 ff., also *Lücke's* Commentary on John, Introduction.¹ γ) But most important of all for the understanding of the New Testament is the insight into the Jewish *Messianic expectations*, and their relation to Jesus's idea of the Messiah. In the first instance they were based upon the Old Testament prophecies, cf. Matt. i. 23 with Isa. vii. 14; Matt. ii. 2 with Num. xxiv. 17; Matt. ii. 5, 6 with Mic. v. 1; Matt. ii. 15 with Hos. xi. 1, etc. If in the earlier time the Messianic expectation, as far as it was general, was based on such passages as Joel iii.; Jer. xxxi. 31–34; Isa. xxxv. 5 ff.; xl. 1 ff.; lx.; Ezek. xxxvi. 25–27, etc.; and, as far as it was personal, chiefly upon Mic. v.; Isa. ix. 1–6; xi. 1–10; Jer.

¹ Cf. also *Godet*, *Meyer*, *Neander*, and *Tholuck*, Comm. in loc. John.—Tr.

Fully developed angelology in the N. T.

Doctrine of the Logos.

Messianic expectations.

xxiii. 5-8; Zech. ix. 9; since the oppression under Antiochus Epiphanes, and under the influence of the Book of Daniel, a change had taken place in this expectation; that is to say, that the Messiah is to be a shoot of David (מִצֵּד דָּוִד Jer. xxiii. 5; Zech. iii. 8; vi. 12), and is to go forth from Bethlehem (Matt. ii. 5, 6; John vii. 42). But, first of all, it was expected that the advent of the Messiah would be preceded by a time of great calamity (חֲרָף רָע or חֲרָף חֲמָסָא, cf. Dan. xii. 1; 4 Ezra ii. 27; xvi. 12. According to Mal. iii. 1 ff. a forerunner of the Messiah was expected, and, indeed, in the person of Elias, but in part also in the person of Jeremiah (cf. 2 Macc. ii. 1; 4 Ezra ii. 18 coll. Matt. xvi. 14), or of Isaiah (cf. 4 Ezra ii. 18). On the appearance of the Messiah himself two ideas were current: the old Davidic and the supernaturalistic or apocalyptic, based on Dan. vii. 13, 14, cf. Matt. xvi. 24; xxiv. 30, 31; xxvi. 64; 4 Ezra xiii. 32. The Messianic salvation was to consist in the deliverance of the Israelites from their enemies (coll. Luke i. 67-71; Acts i. 6; 4 Ezra xii. 34), in the restoration of the worship and customs, in the bowing down to the God of Israel by all nations (Mic. iv. 1-4; Isa. lx.; Zech. viii. 20-23), and in the remission of the sins of the people (Jer. xxxi. 34; Ezek. xxxvi. 25; Isa. xlv. 3, coll. Matt. i. 21; Luke i. 74, 75). With this was the resurrection of the dead connected (4 Ezra ii. 10-16, 30, 31); at the blast of the judgment trumpet they shall come forth from the graves (4 Ezra vi. 24, 25 coll. 1 Cor. xv. 51, 52; 1 Thess. iv. 16). The righteous shall be clothed in shining robes and shall partake of the feast of the Lord (4 Ezra ii. 37-41; Dan. xii. 3, coll. Matt. xiii. 43; viii. 11; Rev. xix. 9). But this kingdom shall last only a thousand years, then Satan shall be loosed again; a war shall be waged against the Messiah by the land of Magog (Targ. Jonath. ad Num. xi. 26 coll. Rev. xx. 7-10), but the Messiah shall conquer. Hereupon, amid the sounding of trumpets, follow the second resurrection and the judgment (Sepher Ikarim, ch. 31 fol. 147; Beresch. Rabba ad Gen. xlix. 10; 4 Ezra xiii. 26). All of these ideas were not, however, diffused among the

Two ideas
on the ap-
pearance of
the Messiah

All these
ideas not
popular.

people; many of them may well have been merely the property of the learned. It is a matter of dispute whether there was in the Jewish people the belief that the Messiah must suffer and die. According to Isa. liii. and Ps. xxii. there appears to be no room for doubt; but, first of all, the explanation of these passages is itself disputed; then the consternation of the disciples at their Master's death would be inexplicable, if the belief that the Messiah must suffer and die had been the popular belief. Cf. also Matt. xvi. 22; Mark ix. 32, and other passages.

23. Connection of the foregoing with Exegesis.

Relation of
individuals
to the age.

These and other investigations that relate to the real explanation, appear to lie far from the main object of exegesis — the ascertaining and the reproduction of the sense and the spirit of the author. But only a simple consideration is necessary to correct this appearance, and to estimate the necessity of this knowledge and its connection with the spirit of the author. Every individual, and hence every writer, however original and enlightened he may be, belongs at the same time to his age and nationality. These two factors form, as it were, the maternal ground, from which he has grown, and which he can never entirely outgrow. Even the *language* in which he writes is the product of this soil; not less the ideas and conceptions in which consciously or unconsciously he moves, the customs and relations in which and out of which he has grown up. The task of the interpreter, now, is to seize upon these relations, customs, and views *in their connection with the sense and spirit of the author*. *Only when we can transpose ourselves into the relations and moods of him whom we wish to understand, is a true understanding possible.* At the same time the other task — to ascertain and understand his personal peculiarities, which indeed never entirely rise above or sink below the relations temporal and local, and especially to ascertain and to understand the way and manner of his intercourse with God — is not excluded. The task of the exegete in this respect is now, in brief, the following: 1) the *general* knowledge

The inter-
preter's
task.

of 'real' matters, as was remarked above (§ 72), is to be acquired freely and independently of all special explanation, but the exegesis itself has never to take the 'real' explanation, or presuppositions that belong to this, as its starting-point. The explanation of the parable of the Unjust Steward, e.g., has suffered much from the circumstance that men have sometimes taken as their starting-point certain realistic hypotheses. All explanation has rather to take as its starting-point the *grammatical* and *logical sense*, and only *from this* to seek the 'real' understanding of the author, or of the given passage.

2) If the sense of a passage is clear in itself, we must beware of trying to touch it up by means of physical or archaeological hypotheses, as e.g. with the supposition of a nocturnal storm just rising in John iii. 8, which, indeed, is sufficiently clear from the Hellenistic double meaning of the word *πνεῦμα*; or through the supposition of a herd of sheep just passing by in the allegory of the Good Shepherd; or in the allegory of the Vine, through the superfluous supposition that Jesus with the disciples on the way to Gethsemane had just come past a vineyard, or that the wine reminded him of it. Such unnecessary employment of realistic hypotheses is not only insipid, but also bears witness to the incapacity of the exegete to transpose himself into the world of conceptions and thoughts of the speaker or writer.

Needless hypotheses to be avoided.

3) On the other hand, unnumbered passages of the Old and New Testaments receive, through the more accurate knowledge of the Holy Land and people and its history an excellent, and not seldom an unexpected, light. Thus, many a passage, which to Occidental soberness and to Northern book-men either escaped observation or seemed well-nigh senseless, has become clear and lifelike through the knowledge of the Holy Land and the character and customs of its inhabitants, as these have been made known to us through the noble labors of learned and appreciative Palestinian travellers. So also, through the knowledge of the historical and the archaeological is an understanding rendered possible, through which the grammatical and the logical first

Cases in which light is thrown upon difficult passages by 'real' knowledge.

Connection
between the
'real' rela-
tions and
the spirit of
the author.

receive tone and coloring. 4) But no 'real' knowledge is fruitful for exegesis until the interpreter has an insight into the connection between the 'real' relations and the spirit of an author. The Divine Spirit dwelling in the biblical writer is always influenced by the national and temporal relations and dispositions, and the writer's individuality, nationality, and temporal direction is transfigured by the Divine Spirit dwelling in him. On the insight into this mutual relation depends the right application of the 'real' knowledge to the explanation of the author.

c) The Influence of the Ideal on the Historical.

a) Influence of the Religious Popular Spirit on the Historical Representation.

84. Character of Oriental Historiography.

Exact his-
tory un-
known to
antiquity.

He that should seek in the biblical historians *exact* history, as it is called, would find himself disappointed. To antiquity such historiography as we now demand was, in general, little known. Neither Herodotus, nor Thucydides, nor Xenophon, neither Livy nor Tacitus, give "exact" history. With the Oriental writers especially, what we call critical-historical investigation is scarcely in its beginnings. An employment of sources, indeed, naturally found place, and we are often put in the position to cast a look into these. The author of the Books of Kings drew from the public annals of the kings of Israel and Judah; other sources were the monuments, popular songs, or collections of songs (cf. Josh. x. 13 and 2 Sam. i. 18, also Num. xxi. 14), furthermore, genealogical registers, but particularly oral tradition. This contains, it is true, information with reference to actual events, but information that has already passed through the more or less accurate remembrance, and through the phantasy of the people. In general, in hoary antiquity, or, if the popular spirit is unusually moved through great occurrences, even later, poetically colored legends and history can be distinguished by no means strictly. As a rule

there was no critical sifting and working over of the materials according to the various sources. If about one and the same fact two or more different traditions were in vogue, as, e.g. about the changing of Jacob's name (Gen. xxxii. 28 and xxxv. 10), about the birth and childhood of Jesus (Matt. ii. and Luke ii.), it might happen either that the historians only knew of the one, and reproduced this one, as, e.g. Matthew alone speaks of the magi, and Luke alone of the shepherds of Bethlehem; or that they knew both and (without harmonizing them) reproduced both (cf. Gen. l.c.; Luke i. 26-38, coll. iii. 23 f.).¹

But the religious popular spirit has exercised an influence not only on the sources themselves, but also on the *elaboration* of the same. Hence in the biblical historiography we are to distinguish, 1) the transmitted and given material, and 2) the *religious pragmatism*. In the Old Testament this pragmatism is *theocratic*, and this not only in the sense that the religious and the national were identified, but also in the sense that not so much man as *God is the acting person*. The national theocratic pragmatism, through which the given material is more or less modified, is found in by no means an equal degree in all the historical books of the Bible; in the four ~~Last~~ Books of the Pentateuch and in the Book of Joshua more than in Genesis; in the Books of Kings more than in the Book of Judges and in the Books of Samuel, etc. We meet it also now in a purer, now in a less pure form; the latter, either so that the theocratic dominates at the expense of the historical or at the expense of the moral, or so that the theocratical has begun to petrify into the hierarchical, as in the Books of Ezra, Nehemiah, and Chronicles; or finally, so that the religious has passed entirely into the national, as in the Book of Esther. More important still is the other side of the biblical pragmatism, viz. *the immediate derivation of all things from God*, the one exalted above all creatures, the almighty

Religious
pragmatism

God the act-
ing person.

Immediate
derivation
of all things
from God.

¹ For explanations of the phenomena discussed, more in harmony with the usual view of inspiration, see on the passage in Genesis *Delitzsch*, Comm.; on the passages in the Gospels *Godet* and *Lange*, Comm. — Tr.

Creator, the just and holy King and Lord of his people and kingdom, the compassionate Leader and Saviour of his own, and *the referring of all things to him* as the highest and only good (see, among many passages, Ps. xxiii.; lxiii.; lxxiii. 25, 26; xci. et al.), and the One to whom all honor is due (cf. Isa. xlii. 8; xlviii. 9; Ps. xxiii. 4; Ezek. xxxvi. 22 et al.). From this theocratic point of view, and not simply and solely from ignorance of the laws of nature, are the miraculous accounts to be explained.

Miracles.

The miracle is to the biblical writers an event in which the judging or saving power of God is revealed in an extraordinary way — “the hand, the outstretched arm, of the Lord,” “something new which God brings about in the world” (cf. Isa. xlii. 9; xliii. 19; Ezek. xxxvi. 26, coll. the *καὶνὴ κτίσις* 2 Cor. v. 17). Our distinction of natural and supernatural was, in a great measure, foreign to the biblical writers; to them everything was supernatural in which the power of God impressed itself upon their consciousness; a miracle was to them everything in which the salvation of God was revealed to them. Hence Jesus adduces among the divine signs by which it might be known that the Son of Man had come, *also*, and not least of all, the preaching of the gospel to the poor (Luke vii. 22; iv. 18). This religious pragmatism underwent in the post-exilic and ante-Christian period more than one change; in part it was altered through the fact that God's matters were identified with the priestly and Levitical interest, in part it degenerated into the legendary (beginning in the Book of Daniel, culminating in the Book of Tobias); in part, lastly, it was lost in the national (1 and 2 Macc.), and historiography drew near to the so-called profane. Through the appearance of Christ, the religious spirit, and with it the religio-poetical legend, as well as the religious pragmatism was again powerfully awakened; only in the place of the general theocratic idea the *special theocratic idea* came in, by virtue of which it is, on the one hand, the concrete spirit of Christ from which all saving influences proceed; on the other hand, not a whole nation, but only the elect believers out of the same, nor the believers

The Christian theocratic idea.

merely of one people, but of all kinds of people, are the special object of the redeeming and saving God. This is the point of view from which the biblical, and in particular the New Testament, history is to be considered and explained.¹

25. *Legendary Element in the N. T.*

That there is also a *legendary* element in the New Testament comes of the fact that the Christian spirit, even in the writing of history is not merely receptive but also productive. The question arises, to be sure, as to the *criteria* by which an account may be known to be legendary. Since between legend and history there are an infinite number of gradations, and the religious phantasy can run through the whole scale from the greatest possible activity to perfect tranquillity, we can rarely determine with absolute certainty what is legendary and what is purely historical. But this must, once for all, be observed that the spirit which produces fables and legends, or that embellishes the historical in a poetical and legendary way, is itself a fact, and testifies mediately to the facts by which it has been awakened. Still more, we may suppose, as a rule, that the historian, even when he relates what is improbable, *means* to narrate the historical. From this presupposition the exegete is to proceed, and as long as it is practicable, is to suppose at least, a historical basis; he is not to pronounce at once the improbable to be impossible; he is rather to seek to reconcile the contradictions. But he is not to seek to remove the contradictions at all hazards, or to palliate the improbabilities; since it does not follow from the fact that the author meant to tell the truth, that he *could* tell it. Although the limits between legend and history are often hard to be drawn, — and not least of all in the *biblical* history, — yet there are certain characteristics by which, with great probability at least, a narration may be recognized as fabulous or legendary. 1) The surest criterion would be, if on one and the same event, side by side with the traditional we had still an authentic account, the deviation of that from this. But for this there is in the

Deviation
from an au-
thenticated
account.

¹ The reader must be careful here to pick out the grains of truth.—Tr.

New Testament only a single sure example at our command, viz. Acts ix. 29 f. coll. Gal. i. 16-19. Other instances are uncertain, as, e.g. Acts xv. coll. Gal. ii. 1-10.¹ Still less is this criterion applicable to the gospel narratives, where, indeed, one and the same fact is narrated by two, three, or even four Evangelists, of whom, however, no one is to be regarded with certainty as an eye-witness. But from the one certain example, now, it is clear that the reporter of Acts ix. knew, indeed, that Paul journeyed to Jerusalem some time after his conversion, but that — probably on the authority of his informer, or of tradition — he erroneously makes Paul to journey to Jerusalem, and to associate with all the Apostles *soon* after his conversion, and immediately from Damascus (against which Gal. i. 19). 2) But a comparison may be instituted between parallel accounts even if no one of them rests upon immediate eye-witness. In this case we will not err if we regard the more embellished account, especially if it borders on the miraculous, as the more legendary, and the simpler and more unassuming as the more historical. Examples are, Luke iii. 22 (coll. Matt. iii. 16) ; Luke xxii. 43, 44 (coll. Matt. xxvi. 37 f. ; Mark xiv. 34) ; cf. also Luke vii. 2-10 (coll. Matt. viii. 5-10). The account of the speaking with tongues on the day of Pentecost (Acts ii. 4-11) may also be compared with Paul's declaration with reference to *γλώσσαις λαλεῖν* (1 Cor. xiv.),² according to which latter the speaking with tongues is *not* a miraculous speaking in foreign languages, but an ecstatic and to others unintelligible praying. 3) But it happens very frequently that such a comparison either leads to no result, because the various accounts are not related to each other as the simpler or more original and the derived and more embellished, or because, in general, no comparison at all is possible. In such cases the following indices of the legendary are the

The more embellished of two parallel accounts more likely to be legendary.

Cases that present special difficulty.

Indices.

¹ See, per contra, *Hackett*, on the passages in Acts; and *Lightfoot*, on the passage in Galatians. — Tr.

² There is no necessity for supposing that the phenomena of the Pentecostal "speaking with tongues" were identical with those mentioned by Paul. — Tr.

surest : α) multiplied revelations in dreams ; we say “ multiplied ” ! since it is not to be denied that especially with plain men who have not yet quite outgrown the life of nature, or in certain important moments, apocalyptic dreams may occur ; but a multiplication of these, as in Matt. i. and ii., indicates a legend. β) Angelic apparitions. As the idea of angels belongs to the childlike, poetical form of the religious consciousness, so a narrative embellished with angelic apparitions is to be put to the account of the involuntarily poeticizing legend, as, e.g. Luke ii. 8 ff. Angelic apparitions also, as a rule, disappear in proportion as the traditional account passes over into the authentic. The Acts of the Apostles is an instructive proof of this. γ) Miracles are a sure sign of a fabulous or legendary narrative. Miracles are distinguished from wonders,¹ by the circumstance that the religious element recedes while the strange, unnatural becomes prominent. Yet there are transitions. The Scriptures themselves are not entirely free from miracles ; we call attention to only 2 Kings xiii. 21 and Matt. xvii. 27. δ) Furthermore also, the narratives or features are to be attributed to legendary development, which — even if something historical lies at the basis — betrays itself as formed after a prophecy or typical account in the Old Testament, as Matt. ii. 13–15 coll. Hos. xi. 1 ; Matt. ii. 16–18 coll. Jer. xxxi. 15 ; or, if of several parallel representations the one is more like an Old Testament type, as e.g. Matt. xxvii. 34 coll. Mark xv. 23, in such case that representation which is most unlike its type is to be regarded as the more historical. ε) Finally, such accounts have suffered the influence of the legend, as are pre-eminent for contradictions and obscurities. (Contradictions, especially in the history of the Resurrection ; obscurity, e.g. in the history of the Transfiguration, most of all in Luke).²

¹ We have usually rendered “ Wunder ” by the English word “ miracle.” The word “ Mirakel ” has a bad sense which does not attach to the English word. For a good classification of phenomena of this sort see *Trench on Miracles*. — Tr.

² If it were a made-out case that the New Testament *has* a legendary

86. Explanation of Miracles.

The *explanation of miracles* (Wunder) belongs also to the province of the historical interpretation. For general observations we refer to what has been said in § 84. Here the various methods of explaining miracles are to be tested. a) The

The Orthodox explanation.

Orthodox explanation accepts the miraculous accounts, as they are given, as wonderful (supernatural) as well as as historical events. It is in so far in the right as the sacred authors mean to recount the miraculous as having happened, and what has happened as miraculous, and exegesis, conceived in its narrow and strict sense, has no other task than to explain the sense and the thoughts of the author as they are given. Accordingly it does not, in fact, seem to be allowable to the exegete to conceive of a miraculous account otherwise than as the author gives it. But the interpreter of historical writings is, eo ipso, also a historical investigator, and has, as such, the task to inquire, how the account lying before him is related to the fact itself. This applies to all historical narratives, not to the miraculous narratives alone; but these, of course, are not excluded from such investigation. β) *The natural* explanation.

The natural explanation

This, now, accepts as its task just the clearing up of the relation of the reporter to the facts. It proceeds from the — not incorrect — assumption that a discrimination must be made between the pure facts and the conception of the witnesses or reporters. Since, now, belief in the miraculous was characteristic of that time, and men were accordingly inclined to regard as supernatural facts that transcended their power of conception, it is according to this assumption the work of the interpreter to separate everything miraculous or supernatural, and to put it to the account of the reporter or of the first witnesses. Hence the natural explanation proceeds partly from the assumption that, in general, there can be nothing miraculous, partly from the other assumption, that the fact, even though related from the stand-

element the classification in the text might be of value. But after all the acuteness that has been employed by Baur and his followers to put the matter beyond doubt, many learned men refuse to be convinced. — TR.

point of the reporter, is yet related so precisely that the pure fact may be separated with certainty from its husk. The fact, then, is commonly shown to be an altogether ordinary and trivial occurrence, in which the only miracle is that it could have been regarded as a miracle. γ) The mystical explanation has this in common with the natural, that it also recognizes only a *mediate* influence of God on the world of nature and of man, but this mediation is brought about through hidden and secret powers, through animal magnetism, through the polarity of natural forces, through the mysterious connection between spirit and nature. Thus the mystical explanation thinks to free the biblical miracle from its unnatural tang, and at the same time to save it as mystery. The judgment of this method need in no case be influenced by the fact that in this the Orthodox see a concession to Rationalism, and the Rationalists a concession to Orthodoxy, but both parties see an incompleteness in it. Not the relation of an explanation to the parties just dominant, but simply and alone its relation to the sense of the author and to the facts should here determine our judgment. Now many mystical explanations, as, e.g. the explanation of the miracle at Cana (and the miraculous feeding), in favor since Augustine, are certainly entire failures; but some cures, as those through the laying on of hands, through active and passive touching, appear susceptible of explanation from magnetic powers. In any case it must be granted that there are "mystical phenomena in nature," which the common human understanding can neither explain nor believe. Yet the mystical explanation, even in the most favorable cases, is insufficient, so much the less as, according to Matthew, most of the miraculous healings were accomplished not through contact, but through the mere word.

The mystical explanation.

δ) The mythical explanation. This finds its support in the fact that it has exposed the insufficient and the fallacious in the other explanations, in particular of the *natural*. It is further supported by the fact that it recognizes the importance and the influence of the religious legend, and has consistently carried out this view. That the fun-

The mythical explanation.

4.

damental facts of Christianity were for a long time propagated through oral tradition, that this was pervaded by religious phantasy and received manifold embellishments, that it belongs to the essence of pious phantasy to regard the facts as miraculous, and as having taken place through the immediate dispensation of God, — with regard to these things at the present day there can be no reasonable doubt.¹ But the mythical explanation errs in that it does not properly distinguish between historical facts which are only modified and embellished through the legend, and myths or legends which are according to their very essence embodiments of the ideal, in general, products of the religious phantasy. Particularly has it gone much too far in the derivation of New Testament narratives from Old Testament ideas and types, as the forced nature of so many of Strauss's explanations of miracles sufficiently proves. With reference to these various explanations of miracles it must rather be said, that the biblical miracles *are too heterogeneous, for one method of explanation to be applicable to them all*. We call attention only to the passage of the Israelites through the Red Sea, which is represented as a miracle of God, and yet as rendered possible by a strong east wind (Ex. xiv. 13 coll. 21); to the standing still of the sun at Gibeon, which is expressly borrowed from a poetical book, the Book of the Upright (Josh. x. 14); to the highly embellished account of the ascension of the prophet Elijah (2 Kings ii.); further, to the casting out of demons on the part of Jesus, which are in part explicable psychologically (cf. esp. Mark i. 21–28); to the cures, in which the faith of those concerned comes into consideration as a recipient factor (cf. esp. Mark v. 25–34); and the cases in which no miraculous healing could take place on account of the lack of faith (Mark vi. 5). We may, further, distinguish the cures through touch (Mark i. 41; v. 27); through spittle and other manipulations (Mark vii. 33 f.; John ix. 6); and the cures performed at a distance (Matt. viii. 5–13; xv. 22–28). Of special difficulty

No one
method ap-
plicable to
all.

¹ Yet many who have some claim to be regarded as "reasonable" men do doubt them. — Tr.

are the awakenings from the dead; yet here we find the peculiar circumstance that the greatest miraculous awakening seems to have been entirely unknown to the three synoptists, and that the two first Evangelists only know of one case (Matt. ix. 23-25; Mark v. 35-42), which Jesus himself did *not* regard as an awakening of a dead person (cf. Matt. ix. 24; Mark v. 39).¹ Furthermore, the miraculous influences on unconscious nature are a source of difficulty, as in the stilling of the tempest, in the miraculous feeding, etc. From these examples it is clear, 1) that neither in the Old Testament nor in the New are miraculous accounts wanting that admit of a natural explanation. This is the case, either when the reporter himself gives an intimation in the miracle that some means have been employed, or when an effect that was inexplicable at that time, is explicable according to our insight into physics and anthropology. Only we are not to forget that if the Evangelists, e.g. mention means which Jesus employed, these were either symbolical, or in general insufficient to have produced the given effect in a natural way; and if the matter is explicable psychologically, yet an unusual spiritual power on the part of Jesus must always be supposed. In any case, if a New Testament miracle is to be explained naturally, the hiatus between the cause and effect must be filled up through a supposed medium.

2) The *mystical* explanation may be here and there applicable and, e.g. the healing power of Jesus may have been mediated through magnetism; only no other than a moderate and considerate use can be made of this explanation, if we would not lose ourselves in untenable hypotheses. That the laying on of hands, and indeed the touch, of certain persons under certain circumstances may produce cures is attested through credible examples, and that a special power of this kind dwelt in Jesus, which, however, could produce its full effect only under

There are miraculous accounts that admit of natural explanation

The mystical explanation sometimes applicable.

¹ For reasons why the synoptists, though they may have known of the raising of Lazarus, should have failed to mention the event, see *Godet*, *Tholuck*, and *Luthardt*, *Com. in loc. John*. To lay stress on Jesus's expression, at the raising of the daughter of Jairus, "the maid is *not dead*, but *sleepeth*," seems, to say the least, unscientific. — TR.

The mythical explanation, when applicable.

There usually remains a *non liquet*.

the condition of the subjective factor, faith, seems to be beyond doubt. But to extend the mystical application farther is hazardous and arbitrary. 3) The *mythical* explanation is applicable in many cases, as when a miraculous account is explicable either from the religio-poetical conception and its involuntary translation from poesy into the prose of actual history, or from the legend's receiving continual additions; or finally, from the involuntary embodiment of an idea. But even although the best method may have been applied, there usually remains yet an *irrational residuum* or a *non liquet*, whether it be that the narrative gives no clear insight into the connection of events, or that the historical nature of the event is disputed; or in general, that the narrative defies all explanation, as the awakenings of the dead. The interpreter is to apply, indeed, all media of explanation sanctioned by science, he is also not to despair of the possibility of an explanation; but he is also to be modest and truth-loving enough to confess his ignorance.¹

β) *Influence of the Individual Spirit of the Author on the Historical Representation.*

87. **Idiosyncracies of Biblical Writers.**

That by no means all the peculiarities of the biblical narration are to be laid to the account of tradition and the religious spirit, but many of them to the individuality of the authors, is certain. But what is to be ascribed to that and what to this, it is in many cases impossible to determine with certainty. Are there criteria by which we may decide with probability that a given feature is the product not of tradition (oral or written), but of the individual thoughts of the author? Undoubtedly so. The surest criteria may be the following:

1) The combining of two different accounts, as Luke iii. 23, of the genealogy, the object of which is to show the Davidic descent of Jesus, and the supernatural conception through the

Criteria for the determination of individual thoughts of writers.

¹ Is it not probable, that after the "natural," the "mystical" and the "mythical" explanations have "had their day, and ceased to be," the so-called "Orthodox" explanation will maintain its place? — TR.

observation (ὡν υἱός) ὡς ἐνομίζετο του Ἰωσήφ, etc. Another case in point is where Mark combines the (probably genuine) account, that the question to Jesus with regard to fasting proceeded from the disciples of John (Matt. ix. 14), and the other account which puts the question in the mouth of the Pharisees (Luke v. 33). 2) Elucidations, as Mark vii. 3, 4 (on the Jewish purificatory rites), also Luke vi. 13, οὗς καὶ ἀποστόλους ὀνόμασεν, et al. 3) Illustration and broad circumstantiality of narration, as Mark i. 32, 35; ii. 4; iii. 5; viii. 14; xi. 16, etc. 4) But that in particular is to be reckoned to the account of the author himself which indicates a special *intention*. This may appear even in minute features; cf. Luke xi. 33 with Matt. v. 15. If Matthew has without doubt the more original in the words "... it lighteth all that are in the house,"—which points to the house of the theocracy in which the disciples are to shine as the light of the world,—the corresponding passage in Luke refers in the words "... in order that those entering in may see the light," to the entrance of those that are without (the heathen) into the theocracy. Cf. further, Luke xiii. 26 with Matt. vii. 22. Matthew has the words of Jesus thus: "... Many will say to me in that day, Lord, Lord, have we not prophesied in thy name, and in thy name have cast out demons, and in thy name performed many works of power?" According to Luke the words run: "... Then shall ye begin to say, we have eaten and drunk in thy presence, and thou hast taught in our streets." In both places stands the rebuffing answer of the Lord. In Luke, therefore, the implication is that the fact of having witnessed the words and deeds of the Lord, and of having enjoyed external communion with him, furnishes no valid claim for acceptance into the kingdom of Christ, cf. 2 Cor. v. 16; in Matthew, on the other hand, that the performance of great works of power in the name of Jesus does not entitle one to such acceptance. Clearer and more evidencing than such seemingly undesigned features are, the glorious prominence given to the Samaritans, Luke x. 33 ff.; xvii. 16; the accept-

ance of publicans and sinners on the part of Jesus. Luke vii. 37 ff.; xv.; xviii. 10-14, et al. Yet of these we shall speak in the following section.

5. *The Ascertaining of the Object and the Intention of an Entire Writing.*

88. The True Stand-point.

The ascertaining of the intention of a writing is the highest, but in part also the most difficult, task of exegesis. It is most intimately connected with the *logical* explanation, and is itself essentially a logical operation. But, at the same time, it presupposes the *historical* explanation, and is itself a historical investigation. The object of a writing, that is to say, is to be learned from its occasion, which in turn is conditioned through the nature of the readers. Not less is the intention of a writing conditioned through the individuality, nationality, and temporal setting of the author.

Views of
older inter-
preters.

As regards the object of a writing, the older interpreters, led by the conviction that the Bible, as a whole as well as in its individual parts, is the word of God, and that its authors were inspired, thought of nothing else under this object than divine and particularly dogmatic teaching. They went so far, indeed, as to regard the *question* as to the occasion and object of a biblical writing as inadmissible, because this degraded the divine writing to the compass of merely human motives. What has been said already (cf. I, § 37 f.) was meant to show the one-sidedness of this stand-point. The more modern interpretation which plants itself on the historical stand-point, views every writing, sacred or profane, chiefly with reference to its intention and object. This stand-point is in so far entirely correct, as 1) one submits himself in this to the guidance of an unbiased exegesis, and as 2) one does not end in "tendency." "Tendency" differs from "intention" thus: the latter designates the direction of the author to an object in general; the former the direction of the author to a personal or partisan object. The possibility of such is, in general,

Modern
view.

"Tenden-
cy" and
"inten-
tion."

always to be granted, but to assume beforehand the *reality* thereof is allowable neither to the exegete nor to the historian. On the other hand, the assumption of an *intention*, which the author has had in the production of his writing is not only allowable but, especially in doctrinal writing, necessary, and the searching for the same is an essential task of the exegete. Yet we do not mean to say that *every* writing must have a single or special *object*, or that the exegete is under obligation to impose such an object on the author. This could often be done only by violence and by the application of categories which would be foreign to the author. Thus it would be altogether unjustifiable to try to subtilize out a single object or fundamental thought in 1 Corinthians, or to suppose that because Luke and John specify an object of their Gospels, Mark, e.g., must also have such an object. Yet, in most cases, there is an intention, and the searching for this is justified.

89. Method of ascertaining the Intention.

How now is the intention of a writing to be ascertained?

- 1) It must be seen, first of all, whether the author himself has *explained himself on this matter*; such an explanation is to be sought in the prooemium or in the conclusion of his writing. Such an explanation, if there be one, we are to take as our starting-point. But what if there is none? In most cases, therefore, this investigation is insufficient, whether it be that the author has *not* expressed himself with reference to his object, or that his explanation informs us, indeed, in a general way, what he wished to accomplish by his writing, but not why he wrote *precisely thus*. Author's explanation.
- 2) The *parenetical* part of his writing is still, therefore, especially to be observed, inasmuch as the exhortations which the author gives to his readers must refer to the special circumstances of the latter, to the occasion of his writing. An inference must, therefore, be made from the contents of the exhortations to the religious condition, or to the need of the readers. Yet this road does not always lead to a beneficial end, since frequently the parenthesis is not always clear enough as to its intention to build a conclusion Parenetical part.

Comparison
of the prin-
cipal part
with the
parenesis.

Organism
of thought.

upon with regard to the readers, and from this with regard to the object of the writing; in such cases it is necessary 3) to *compare* the didactic or *principal part* of the writing with the *parenesis*. To this end we must observe carefully what point the author specially emphasizes or makes prominent; and thereupon find out how the author's doctrine and exhortation are related to each other. The more patent the connection between doctrine and exhortation is, the more assured is the conclusion with reference to the intention of the writing in question. But if by these means a very probable object has been arrived at, the interpreter should not even then go to rest as if it were an entirely settled matter, but this result must now be *further confirmed through the organism of thought of the whole*. But this must not be found by dissecting the writing according to a dogmatic or logical scheme, and then subjecting the single parts as well as we can to these categories. *Stockmeyer* has well said (*Die Structur des ersten Johannes-briefs*, Basel 1873): "Sections may be made in the greatest variety of ways, and a reason may always be given why one is made just here; it must be shown how within a section the thoughts move about a definite axis, and form around it a transparent crystal. It amounts to nothing to show a connection from verse to verse, and where there is none to feign it. Rather where the connection breaks off this must be proved; but it must be shown that it here ceases because something new begins." Not until the previously discovered object is confirmed by the structure of the whole, is it to be regarded as entirely assured.

a) *The Intention of Doctrinal Writings.*

90. Intention of the Epistle to the Romans.

It is obvious that it is chiefly the doctrinal writings, that is to say the Epistles of the New Testament, that will exhibit an object of the authors. By way of showing forth the *application* of the rules that have been given we adduce, first of all, as a substratum of this proof, the *Epistle to the Romans*;

partly on account of its importance, partly because it has long been an object of the profoundest investigations. We mention here only the labors of Baur and Mangold. 1) The first question then will be, *Has the Apostle expressed himself with reference to the object and intention of this Epistle, or at least, indicated the object and intention?* This must appear in the prooemium. The prooemium concludes, after the Apostle has spoken of his desire to see the Roman Christians, and of his Gentile Apostolate, with the very important words: I am not ashamed of the Gospel, for it is a power of God to every one that believeth in it, to the Jew first of all, and also to the Greek, for the righteousness of God (Genit. auctoris) is revealed therein, etc. Hence "the Gospel is a power of God for both the grand divisions of the human race, because it is the revelation of justification by faith," or to express it briefly: *the universalism of the Gospel of justification by faith.* This seems, in fact, to be intended as the theme of his Epistle. 2) Does the parenetic part in which the Apostle must make special reference to the condition and nature of his readers agree with this? and does he perhaps otherwise indicate the kind and nature of his readers? Is the Roman community to be thought of as made up of Gentile or of Jewish Christians? The latter, as is well-known, Baur has sought on weighty, though not to be sure on exegetical, grounds to prove. What does the Epistle itself say about it? Not a few passages certainly apply to men of Jewish nativity. It is worthy of observation, first of all, that Paul in the part in which he discourses of the sinfulness of Gentiles and Jews speaks of the former only in the third person (i. 18 ff.; ii. 14-16), while he speaks of the Jews in the second person (ii., esp. vs. 1, 3 f., 17 f.), and where he discusses the question as to the advantage of the Jews, in the first person (iii. 9), with which may be compared iv. 1 (τὸν πατέρα ἡμῶν Ἀβρ.). So also vii. 1 has Jews in view. The passionate beginning (ix. 1-5) seems better motivated if the Apostle has Jewish Christian readers in mind. But the following passages are decisive for Gentile Christian readers: i. 5, 6.

Has the
Apostle ex-
pressed his
intention?

Does the
parenthesis
agree with
this expres-
sion?

... ἐν πάσιν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν, ... ἐν οἷς ἐστὲ καὶ ὑμεῖς. ..., vs. 13: ἵνα τινὰ κάρπον σχῶ καὶ ἐν ὑμῖν καθὼς καὶ ἐν τοῖς λοιποῖς ἔθνεσιν; xi. 13: ὑμῖν γὰρ λέγω τοῖς ἔθνεσιν. ...; especially xi. 17-24 and vs. 25: "I will not leave you in ignorance, ... with regard to this mystery, in order that ye may not be wise in your own conceit, that a blindness in part has happened to Israel until the fulness of the Gentiles shall have come in," etc. The Apostle speaks thus, prevailing at least, to Gentile Christians. yet he likewise has in view Jewish Christians, and to the Gentile Christians he speaks chiefly with reference to the Jewish Christians (cf. esp. ch. xi., also ch. xiv.), to the Jewish Christians with reference to the Gentile Christians (cf. ii. 1, 14-16, 25; iii. 29-31). The Apostle, therefore, undoubtedly presupposes a *mixed* community, yet a mixed community in which the basis is Gentile Christian. That between the two parts there was not wanting variance and collision is indisputably clear from xi. 17-24 and xiv. If we hold to this view, we understand also, why the Apostle in his parenetical part makes prominent those Christian duties that relate to mutual modesty and peaceableness (xii. 3 f., 9-21), to the indulgence of the conscience and the convictions of others (xiv.). Also, the inculcation of duties towards Gentile magistracy (xiii. 1-7) belongs just here, in as far as subjection to human authority, which is at the same time a divinely ordained authority, is likewise the part of Christian moderation and love, which for conscience sake and from the heart give to every one his own. How, now, is what we have said with reference to the nature of the readers and with reference to the drift of the parenetic part related to the theme of the Epistle (i. 16, 17)? As in the theme the universalism of the Gospel and the equality of Jews and Gentiles supposed therein has been laid down as a *proposition*, so in chapters xii.-xiv. the *duties* that result from this proposition are brought home to the hearts of the Roman Christians — mutual forbearance, love, and esteem. 3) How, now, is the *doctrinal part* related as well to the theme as to the parenetic part? Without going more particularly into the course of thought, it is to

How is the doctrinal part related to the parenesis?

be observed, as is generally acknowledged, that in chapters i. and ii. is exhibited the sinfulness of Gentiles and Jews, and in the conclusion of chapter iii., the universal sinfulness, which renders a legal justification impossible, and only justification of grace through faith possible. After, then, in chapter iv. it is proved that this justification through faith is taught already in the Old Testament, the *blessing* of this justification through faith is exhibited and a false practical consequence warded off (vi.). Finally, in chapter vii. the impossibility of justification through the law is shown from the religious experience, and in chapter viii., likewise, from the religious experience the reality and the glory of justification of grace is shown. In this part (i.-viii.) everything, therefore, moves around the justification of Jews and Gentiles through faith, and the elaboration of the theme is unmistakably accomplished chiefly from the side of the relation of these *to God*. The relation of Jews and Gentiles to each other, as it forms in particular the contents of the parenetic part is no longer prominent. What, now, is to be said of the second principal part (ix.-xi.)? According to the older view it is a mere appendix; according to Baur it contains just the principal matter. It is undisputed, that Paul here treats the question, how it is to be explained that the chosen people, the Jews, seem excluded from the Messianic salvation. The Apostle comes to the conclusion *a*) that a *remnant* of the people of Israel is yet favored, and *β*) the calling of the Gentiles is only a means to the *general* favoring of Israel, and hence of humanity. This result shows that the *unconditioned* grace, as Paul proclaims it, is also *universal* grace, and this, in turn, confirms the theme laid down in i. 16, 17; and treating, as it does, of the removal of the opposition between Jews and Gentiles, between those under the law and those without the law, the result of chapters ix.-xi. stands also in connection with the intention of the parenetic part. Everything, accordingly, seems to conspire with the view that the fundamental thought of the Epistle is the universality of the Gospel of justification through faith.

Organism
of the
thoughts.

This, however, must still be confirmed 4) *through the organism of the thoughts*. This can be here given only with the greatest possible brevity. God's righteousness through faith for all (Ἰουδαίῳ τε πρῶτον καὶ Ἑλληνι), this is the thought of the theme which concludes the prooemium and leads to the discussion. This thought, now, is first of all established *ex contrario* (vs. 18 ff. γὰρ) through the fact of the unrighteousness of men; first of all of the Gentiles, whose sensualizing of the original revelations of God has led to all sins and unnatural lusts. But the Jews also, though not without the law and the correct idea of God, belie their better knowledge through their action; and the former cannot justify them where the latter is wanting. The Jews, indeed, have a great advantage, which as a truth of God cannot be destroyed by the falsehood of men; yet this advantage is by no means such that we (Jews) can make it a matter of self-congratulation, forasmuch as Jews as well as Gentiles, nay, all, are under the power of sin (iii. 9), and through the law no man can be justified, because the law only makes men conscious of sins, but cannot remove them. To this *universalism of sin* (iii. 23) is now opposed the *universalism of grace* (vs. 24 ff.), and hence justification by faith (vs. 28). But where justification by faith comes in there the opposition between Jews and Gentiles is removed (vs. 29, 30). Here ends the first unfolding, based on the fact of the *universal sinfulness*. But the proposition of justification by faith may find support, indeed, in the Old Testament, and is confirmed through the example of Abraham, who was justified through faith, and together with his seed, viz. those related to him through faith, has become partaker of the promise; a pattern for all who believe as Abraham. After, now, justification has been represented as necessary, it is represented in chapter v. f. as exceedingly beneficent. This blessing consists first of all in *peace* with God and in everything that depends on this, particularly in the consciousness of victory, which is expressed in an argumentum a minori ad majus: "if justified as sinners; much more having been justified

are we saved!" But just because salvation of grace is a triumphant salvation, this triumph is represented also in the history of humanity; for universal as the Adamic sin and its consequence, death, have become, the *δικαιοσύνη* and the *ζωή* that Christ brings have become still more powerful (v. 12-21). Yet this consciousness must not make us frivolous and confirm us in sin, since the state of grace is a communion with the death and resurrection of Christ, yea, an impulse to a new life of righteousness (chap. vi.). But after a digressive argument from analogy the most important thing still remains, viz. to show *psychologically* the incapacity of the Law to justify and the efficacy of the grace of God in Christ (vii. 7 ff. and viii.), which proof—carried through by means of the dialectic antithesis (vs. 17-30)—can only discharge itself in the triumphant consciousness (vs. 31-39). But the more exultant this joy, if the Apostle considers it purely according to its religious relation, so much the more painful is the thought that his fellow-countrymen, so richly blessed from of old, should be excluded from salvation in Christ! Hence the problem, to remove this crying contradiction of God's promise as well as of the idea of the Christian salvation (chaps. ix.-xi.). This he solves by first of all repelling with confidence all claim to salvation, and representing this as purely a matter of grace (ix. 6-19); then by exhibiting the exclusion of the Jews as their own fault (ix. 30 to x. 21), and finally by showing that this exclusion is not total, since, rather, as in the times of Elias, God has reserved to himself a holy remnant; and not final, since, rather, the calling of the Gentiles is to exercise a retro-active influence upon the Jews, and at last Israel, as a whole, shall be saved. This is in general the mystery of the divine counsel: the *universality of grace* brought about through the opposite (xi. 32-36). From this immeasurably consoling and exalting thought, only the feeling of thankfulness, as the principle of all religious life, can form the transition; to which are added then, exhortations to the virtues of modesty, love, and peaceableness, as to the truly catholic or social virtues, first of

Psychological
argument.

all in the relation of believers among themselves (chap. xii.); then in relation to Gentile magistracy and to men in general (chap. xiii.); and, finally, in relation to freedom of thought, to the anxious in particular, where mutual respect and forbearance with regard to the convictions of others is a Christian duty (chap. xiv.). Throughout the entire Epistle is exhibited, on the one hand, the idea of salvation *of grace*; on the other hand, the idea of the *universality* of salvation. The two ideas actually meet in the theme laid down (i. 16, 17): "The Gospel of justification through faith as a Gospel for all."

Conclusion.

91. Intention of the Epistle to the Hebrews.

No statement of intention.

Teaching of the parenesis.

An example of another kind is the *Epistle to the Hebrews*. Here there is no prooemium at all, and just as little an explanation, on the part of the author, of the object of his writing. He rather proceeds immediately in *mediam rem*. We must, therefore, hold ourselves first of all to the parenetic part (chap. xii. f.). But this displays the very explicit drift, to inculcate constancy (*ὑπομονή*),—not in opposition to fickleness, but in opposition to confusion with regard to salvation, against the forfeiting of the same, cf. esp. xii. 1, 4 ff.; xv. f.; also x. 35, 36. We must have in mind at the same time the peculiar idea of the *πίστις* as it is *ex professo* wrought out in chapter xi., as the holding fast to the end hoped for but invisible and opposed to the present reality, cf. besides the theme (vs. 1), in particular the examples vs. 8–10, 17–19, 24–26. These and the reflection vs. 13 f. make it clear that the *πίστις*, with the author, has some relation to the *ὑπομονή*: the same direction to the future salvation, only that in the *πίστις* it has its seat more in the thought, in *ὑπομονή* more in the will. But what cause has the author to inculcate the *ὑπομονή* upon his readers, and to bring the *πίστις* before their consciences just in this aspect? On these matters partly the parenetic part, and partly the doctrinal contents of the Epistle give us information. In the exhortations allusion is made to a *battle of adversity* which the readers have to maintain, and which might easily discourage them (xii. 1–3, 4–8; xiii. 13, 14). Yet they must already

heretofore have endured affliction (x. 32, 33). To these relate the encouragements in which the Epistle abounds. On the other hand, we are directed to the *doctrinal and discursive sections*, whose specific contents must relate to the religious condition of the readers. The author speaks of the *advantage* of the Christian revelation over the Old Testament revelation (i. 1-3; ii. 1-4; coll. 3, 1 ff.); of the new covenant over the old (viii. 1-10; x.); of the new sanctuary (ix. 1-10; x. 1-10); of the new Mediator or High-Priest over the old (iv. 14-v. 10, particularly vii. and viii. 1 ff.); as, also, of the great advantage of the New Testament sacrifice over the old (ix. 11-28; x. 11 ff.). The fundamental doctrinal thought is, therefore, *the advantage of the New Testament order of salvation over that of the Old Testament*. On this are based the warnings against holding the former in little esteem, ii. 1-4; iii. 7 ff.; iv. 1-13; x. 18-30, 35; xii. 18-29. We are therefore to suppose that these Hebrew Christians, partly through the persecutions which contradicted their expectation of salvation, were in danger of going astray in the faith, partly on account of their Judaizing stand-point, had no right insight into the Christian economy of salvation, but were inclined to regard the Old Testament order of salvation as sufficient. But an obscurity still remains. Were these Jewish Christians actually in danger of *apostasy*, as vi. 4-6, x. 26 f., and xii. 16 f. give us to understand; or had they merely taken a stationary position on their elementary stand-point, instead of advancing, as appears from v. 11-vi. 3? It is worthy of note that the author, to this animadversion against their stationary position, immediately adds the earnest, yea, terrific warning against apostasy, as something irreparable, vi. 4 ff. But just in this difficulty lies the key to its solution. Forasmuch as these Hebrew Christians had stopped in the elements, which were most closely allied to their Jewish opinions and customs, they were actually in danger of regarding their Judaism as the essential thing, and of letting go just the specific part of Christian truth; and this specific part in which they were perplexed must have been partly

Doctrinal
and discursive
sections

Fundamental
doctrinal
thought.

Christ's divine dignity (chap. i.), partly his suffering and death, which lie precisely at the basis of his high-priestly office (ii. 17, **Conclusion.** 18; iv. 14-16; vii. al.). Thus, from the parenetic part — insisting on the *ὑπομονή* — and from the exhibition of the advantage of the New Testament order of salvation over that of the Old Testament, is won a picture of the *readers*, and from this an insight into the *occasion and object* of the Epistle to the Hebrews, viz. to exhort the Hebrew Christians, who in part had remained behind, in part had become perplexed with regard to the nature of Christianity, to *steadfast faith in salvation in Christ*.

92. Intention of the First Epistle of John.

Character-
istics of the
Epistle.

A difficult task is the determining of the intention and the organism of thought of the *First Epistle of John*. The difficulty consists in the fact that this Epistle, so inward and heart-felt, shows no progress of thought, but seems to lose itself in continual repetitions. Hence the object and the course of thought have been defined in the most various ways; cf. esp. *Rickli*, *Johannis erster Brief, erklärt und angewendet in Predigten*, Luzern 1828. *J. Stockmeyer*, *Die Struktur des ersten Johannesbriefs*, Basel 1873. It is not our purpose to discuss here the different views of the matter, but merely to exhibit the application of the method indicated (§ 89) to the concrete case of this Epistle.

Does the
author state
his object?

a) Does the author give anywhere an intimation of the object of his Epistle? This must be found chiefly in the introduction or in the conclusion. In fact the words (i. 3, 4) "What we have seen and heard this also we declare, *ἵνα καὶ ὑμεῖς κοινωνίαν ἔχητε μεθ' ἡμῶν . . . καὶ ταῦτα γράφομεν ὑμῖν, ἵνα ἡ χαρὰ ὑμῶν ᾗ πεπληρωμένη*," contain the intention of the author. It is thus the *joyfulness in Christian communion* that he wishes to bring about by his writing. Cf. with this the words with which the conclusion begins (v. 13): *Ταῦτα ἔγραψα ὑμῖν, ἵνα εἰδῇτε ὅτι ζωὴν ἔχετε αἰώνιον . . .* This consciousness of having eternal life is precisely the *χαρά*. But this general statement requires to be made more definite, and this is done β) in the intimations

which the author gives with regard to his *readers*. In this Epistle, however, no didactic and parenetic parts are to be distinguished; rather the whole Epistle is parenetic, and the didactic thoughts that are strewn here and there are partly reminders of the evangelical preaching, as i. 5; ii. 7 f., 18, 20, 21; iii. 5, 11; v. 18 f., partly foundations for consolatory and exhortatory pareneses, as ii. 1, 2, 17, 18–20, 27; iii. 2, 7 ff.; iv. 2 f., 7–10; v. 1, 6–8. Yet there are not wanting intimations as to the condition of the readers. From these we gather, that they were in danger from heretical teachers and seducers, ii. 18 ff., 26 f.; iii. 7 ff.; iv. 1–5. That these heretical teachers denied the divine sonship of Jesus, and Christ's manifestation in the flesh, is certain from ii. 22 and iv. 1–3. They must thus have been Docetae, who had already sought to spread the Gnostic distinction between Jesus and the *ἄνω Χριστός*, and this under the pretence of a higher knowledge, against which the readers are armed through the remembrance of the *χρίσμα* dwelling in them (ii. 20, 27), and by the fact that they are in possession of the truth and of the divine life (ii. 12 ff.; iii. 1 f., 7 f., 14; iv. 4 f.; v. 1 ff., 18–20). But the readers seem to have been subjected to still another, viz. a *moral*, danger, an antinomian laxity and self-deception (i. 6, 8; ii. 1, 4; v. 18) and a cooling of their love (ii. 9; iii. 10–12, 18; iv. 7 ff., 20, 21). According to v. 21 this antinomian tendency seems to have brought with itself a certain laxity with regard to the heathen worship. But whether this antinomianism was connected with the Gnosticizing heresy of the *ἀντιχριστοί* is not clear from the Epistle; but so much the more certain is the emphasis which the author puts upon the fact that he that is born of God sins not, but keeps himself pure from the world (i. 7; ii. 15–17; iii. 3, 4, 9, 10; v. 18), and loves his brother (ii. 9, 10; iii. 10–12, 14, 15; iv. 7–21). γ) How, now, the author's object expressed in i. 3, 4 coll. v. 13 is confirmed in the *development of his thoughts*! To bring about “joyfulness in communion with God and with the children of God,” is thus the author's object. The whole Epistle now is occupied with

Intimations
with regard
to the
readers.

Develop-
ment of
thoughts.

the *conditions* to this joyfulness in God; this is not wrought out, however, with logical consequence, but in such a way that from section to section a fundamental thought dominates, around which then the others group. Therefore, also, no sharp transitions occur, but the thoughts flow over into each other.

First part. The first condition to that joyfulness, as follows from God's nature as light, is moral *integrity*; hence in this first part everything moves about the opposition between light and dark-

Second part. ness (i. 5-ii. 11). In the second part (ii. 12-28) two warnings are given under the assumption that the readers, by virtue of their position under grace, have overcome the evil one: not to love the world and to beware of the heretical teachers, who sunder the man Jesus from the heavenly Christ, — a self-

Third part. preservation that is rendered possible by the *χρῖσμα*. In the third part, to which ii. 29 forms the transition, the filial relation to God is set forth as a ground of the *χαρά*, and the discussion moves now about the opposition between children of God, whose characteristic is *ποιεῖν τὴν δικαιοσύνην* = brotherly love, and the children of the Devil, whose mark is *ποιεῖν τὴν ἁμαρτίαν*

Fourth part. = hatred (ii. 29-iii. 11). From this point the discourse glides into the fourth section, which begins with iv. 1. The passage iii. 19-24 seems to be intended as a conclusion of the Epistle, since here already, as in v. 13 ff., is set forth the *χαρά* as *παρρησία*, confidence in prayer, which is conditioned through *τηρεῖν τὰς ἐντολάς*. But now the danger of seduction to which the readers are subjected is before the author's soul, and the work of the fourth part (iv. 1-v. 12) is to impress upon their hearts the *notes of the Spirit from God*. This is so treated that in chap. iv. 1-13 the two notes are set forth — faith in Christ as having appeared in the flesh, and brotherly love as the reflex of the love of God in Christ, and thence the different factors of this fundamental thought are set forth in a free manner, so that the discourse returns, in the conclusion, to the idea of the *πνεῦμα*, true and genuine (v. 6-12). The conclusion finally marks anew the object of the Epistle, but with an amplification with regard to confidence in prayer (vs. 13-17), and with some

energizing thoughts, which are derived from the intention of the Epistle.¹

b) The Intention of Historical Writings.

93. Presuppositions.

The question may be raised whether we are justified in ascribing to the biblical historians an object ulterior to the statement of the facts. In every case we are to proceed from the supposition that the author *means* to give history. Only when either he himself gives an intimation of an ulterior intention, as Luke (i. 1-4), and the fourth Evangelist (xx. 30, 31), or when his writing exhibits peculiarities that are explicable only from the special tendency of the author, are we authorized to inquire after the intention of his writing. But where neither of these is the case, as in Mark, this is not allowable, and this designless character of the second Gospel is confirmed by the well-known testimony of Papias. (Euseb. II. E. III. 39). But not *all* the peculiarities of an Evangelist, for example, are to be reckoned to the account of his intention, but many of them spring rather from his sources. What thoughtful interpreter would, e.g., ascribe it to the intention of the author that Luke gives a long section (ix. 51-xviii. 14), which is peculiar to him in part absolutely, in part in this connection; that the Evangelist names the publican that was called, Matthew, whom both the other Synoptists name Levi? etc. But then we meet with not a few peculiarities with regard to which it is *uncertain* whether the author has found them in his (oral or written) sources, or whether he has transformed the given account in the interest of the object that he pursues. Without going into particulars, we mention, in Matthew the primordial polemics of Jesus against the Pharisees (v. 20 ff.), in Luke the many sections and touches with regard to Jesus's compassionate love towards sinners (particularly vii. 37 ff.; xv.; xix. 1-10), in Acts the statement that Paul soon after his conversion journeyed

Do sacred historians have any ulterior objects?

Some peculiarities due to the sources.

¹ The essential agreement of our exposition with that of *Stockmeyer* (The Structure of the First Epistle of John) will be readily observed.

from Damascus to Jerusalem, and there associated with the original Apostles (ix. 26 ff.), et al. In such phenomena some will always be inclined to attribute these features to the "tendency" of the author, while others, in order to save his historical fidelity, refer these features to his (assured) sources.

A presumption to be rejected.

Here we can only reject the presumption that sets forth one or the other view as a made-out case, and as a criterion either of the "scientific" or the "orthodox." Nevertheless, there are yet many phenomena that indicate a peculiar stand-point, or a definite *intention* on the part of the historian. Thus, there can be no doubt but that such passages as Luke iv. 26, 27; x. 30 ff.; xvii. 15 f. (the Samaritans) and the special prominence given to the mission of the seventy, point to the Pauline universalism, and such expressions as Luke xvii. 7-10 point to the specifically Pauline doctrine of justification by faith. The more accurate exhibition of the method of procedure will be furnished by two examples.

94. Intention of Acts.

Since Schneckenburger's writing "Ueber den Zweck der Apostelgeschichte," 1841, and Zeller's writing: "Die Apostelgeschichte nach ihrem Inhalt und Ursprung kritisch untersucht," 1854, this book (Acts) has been the subject of manifold discussions; some, in proportion as they have thought that a "tendency" must be recognized in the book, have cast doubt upon the historical character, or at least the historical fidelity, of the author, but others, in the same degree as they have sought to defend this historical fidelity, have been inclined to deny a definite intention of the book. We must here confine ourselves to the determination of the general point of view.

Acts of the Apostles much discussed of late.

Material of first part drawn from tradition.

First of all, there can be no doubt but that the author of Acts drew the material for the first part of his work from *tradition*, and that, too, from *Petrine* tradition, and that only for the second part (xvi. ff.) could he have used *Pauline* tradition, and, indeed, probably for Paul's last journey to Jerusalem, but certainly for the deportation journey, an autoptic source. Now, so far as the author holds himself to his sources or relates what

he himself experienced (as, especially, xxvii.) we are not to inquire after an ulterior intention, but his historical narrative is to be accepted simply as such. But if it can be shown that many of his statements vary from the authentic history; if in these variations, indeed, a certain agreement and direction is to be established, then we may be assured that the author has combined with his historical narrative a certain intention. But on what is the view based that the book of Acts deviates in many points from the authentic history, and that too, in part, consciously? It is an axiom in all historical investigation that *immediate* testimonies for a fact are to be preferred to *mediate*. Now there are at our command immediate testimonies for some important facts and relations in the life of the Apostle Paul, in particular with regard to his relation to Peter and the other original Apostles (Gal. i. 17 ff.; ii. entire). From these testimonies it chiefly appears that Paul was absolutely independent of the latter, that he was conscious of having been called by God to be an Apostle to the Gentiles (Gal. i. 16; ii. 7, 9; Rom. i. 5), that he himself, when he sought to establish an understanding with the Jewish Apostles, yielded nothing to the Judaistic zealots, that as Apostle to the Gentiles he maintained his conviction and his right, and compelled the original Apostles to recognize the same; that he vindicated with energy against Peter his fundamental and vital principle, that man is not justified through the works of the law, but through faith (Gal. ii. 11 to the end). How, now, does this agree with the assertion of the author of Acts, that it was Peter who inaugurated the conversion of the Gentiles (Acts x. and xi. 1-18), that at the Apostolic convention, at which precisely the question with reference to the chief difference between Jewish and Gentile Christians is discussed, Peter is not only the principal speaker, but also expresses himself altogether in a Pauline way (xv. 7-11); that, on the other hand, Paul as a matter of course, turns in his missionary journeys first of all to the Jews, and only through the opposition of the latter is driven to the Gentiles (xiv. 1 ff.; xvii. 1-5, esp. xviii. 1-6 and xxviii. 24-28),

Cases in which an intention is manifest.

Paul's own testimony in the Epistle to Galatians.

Acts a defence of the Pauline mission to the Gentiles.

that, in order to conciliate the Jews, he circumcises Timothy (xvi. 1-3), that he subjects himself to Jewish observances (xviii. 18; xxi. 20-26)? Some of these differences may have flowed from traditional sources, which Luke followed; but most of them point to an intention, and nothing confirms this so clearly as the significant conclusion (xxviii. 24-28). From all this it follows, that the author combined with his historical account an apologetic object, i.e. a *defence of the Pauline mission to the Gentiles*. This is justified, 1) by showing that Peter, indeed, had already inaugurated the mission to the Gentiles, 2) by proving that Paul always remained true to Judaism, therefore that he cannot be accused of apostasy from his paternal religion, and chiefly, 3) that it was simply the unbelief and the opposition of the Jews that forced him to go to the Gentiles.¹

95. Intention of the Gospel of John.

Author's statement of his object

Another example is the *Gospel of John*; and here also we have the phenomenon that some, in just the measure in which they ascribe a definite intention to the writing, deny its historical nature, while others, in proportion as they maintain the historical character of the book, throw the "tendency" into the background. With no writing of the New Testament is it so necessary as with this so extraordinarily disputed book, without any prepossession, to hold rigidly to the historical and hermeneutical rules. 1) As is well-known, the author gives the object of his writing (xx. 30, 31) in the words: Πολλὰ μὲν οὖν καὶ ἄλλα σημεία ἐποίησεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἐνώπιον τῶν μαθητῶν ἃ οὐκ ἔστιν γεγραμμένα ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ τούτῳ· ταῦτα δὲ γέγραπται ἵνα πιστεύσῃτε ὅτι Ἰησοῦς ἐστὶν ὁ Χριστὸς ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ. καὶ ἵνα πιστεύοντες ζωὴν ἔχητε ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ. First of all, therefore, he says, that he meant to give only a selection of facts (σημεῖα). Through this his writing is distinguished

¹ This entire section is a specimen of what the Germans call "tendential" criticism, and of which Baur was the Coryphaeus. See, per contra, *Hackett* on the passages referred to in Acts, and *Lightfoot* and *Ellicott* on those in Galatians. — TR.

in particular from that of Luke, who according to his own assertion (i. 3) has striven for completeness. Now with regard to the statement of his object, this does not appear to be different from the object which the other Evangelists have had in view, since they also, even if they do not expressly say it, have designed to promote "faith in Jesus as the Son of God. Thus the great peculiarity of this Gospel is not explained by the author's statement of his object. But it depends upon what the Evangelist understands by "Son of God" and "faith in the Son of God."

2) On this point the *contents* of the book itself must instruct us, first of all α) the prologue: over against the two traditions and opinions, of which the one derives Jesus by direct propagation from David and Abraham (cf. the Genealogies and Rom. i. 3), the other makes him to have been begotten by the Holy Spirit; our Evangelist rises to a higher metaphysical stand-point, and derives Jesus from the divine essence, from its revelation; hence an *ideal* divine origin; while according to Matthew, and particularly according to Luke, it is a physical. For this the well-known Alexandrine doctrine of the Logos was at his command. By virtue of this ideal-divine origin Jesus stands over against all men as the possessor of absolute knowledge, as the bringer of light and life. We are further to attend β) to the discourses of Christ, which differ very much, as well in contents as in form, from those of the Synoptics; they treat *not* of the kingdom of Heaven, its nature, its progress, of the conditions and hindrances to participation therein, *but* of the person of Christ and his relation to the Father, of what he can give and be to men. In relation to the form, they are not popular discourses in the classical Oriental manner of parables and aphorisms, *but* discussions with a dull and insusceptible audience that cannot understand him, and with opponents that will not. But he does not let himself down at all to them, he seeks in no wise to remove their misunderstanding, but rather rises over against them to ever higher and more incomprehensible, to ever more mystical thoughts, so that the misunderstanding and the cleft

Contents of
the book.
The pro-
logue.

Discourses
of Christ.

Johannean
idea of faith

between him and his audience becomes always greater, yea, not unfrequently culminates in blind rage on the part of the latter, cf. esp. vi. 26-59; viii. 30-59; x. 24-39. Observe further γ) the Johannean idea of faith; even this appears to be quite different in this Gospel from that of the other three Gospels, in that — while there faith is spoken of almost exclusively in relation to his saving power — here so continually he demands faith in his person. Hence, then, “believing in him” is not only coming to him as seeking help, neither is it merely seeking him from gratitude; both these are rather designated as insufficient (iv. 47, 48; vi. 24-26). That mere belief for the sake of miracles is an imperfect faith, is indeed a matter of course according to the ideal conception of this Gospel, cf. ii. 23-25; iv. 48; x. 38; xiv. 11; but it is not only an imperfect faith, but also an insincere faith, in which the heart remains unconverted (ii. 23-25; iii. 2, 3; viii. 30 ff.). To *believe* in Jesus is rather, by means of a spiritual relationship with him, to be drawn by his person, by his light and life (iii. 18-21; iv. 14; vi. 37, 45, 46; vii. 17; x. 4, 5, 27). δ) We may further

The conclusions of the two parts of the book.

observe — since this Gospel, according to its doctrinal contents, may be divided into two parts, into the representation of his relation to the world, which goes to the end of chap. xii., and the representation of his relation to his people, which ends with chap. xvii. — the significant conclusions of both these parts. The first part ends with the words: ... ἐγὼ ἐξ ἐμαντοῦ οὐκ ἐλάλησα, ἀλλ' ὁ πέμψας με πατήρ αὐτός μοι ἐντολὴν δέδωκεν τί εἶπω καὶ τί λαλήσω· καὶ οἶδα ὅτι ἡ ἐντολὴ αὐτοῦ ζωὴ αἰώνιος ἐστίν· ἃ οὖν λαλῶ ἐγὼ, καθὼς εἶρηκέν μοι ὁ πατήρ, οὕτως λαλῶ. This thought, that he does not speak and act of himself, but of commission and of the mind of the Father, is the principal thought of this Gospel, cf. v. 19, 20; vii. 17; viii. 28. The second part closes with the following words of the departing prayer: καὶ ἐγνώρισα αὐτοῖς τὸ ὄνομά σου, ἵνα ἡ ἀγάπη ἣν ἠγάπησάς με, ἐν αὐτοῖς ἡ κατὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς. Thus also here his work is the revelation of the Father, but for the purpose of the inner communion of his people with him and, through him,

with the Father. *This* is the Jesus of our Evangelist, and *this*, according to him, is the meaning of believing in him, and in belief having eternal life. But this view is so different from the traditional one that it needs to be confirmed to the readers, and this confirmation is also given. We are therefore 3) to direct our attention especially to this *attestation*. No Author's
attestation. New Testament writer represents himself (i.e. the μαθητὴς ὃν ἀγάπα ὁ Ἰησοῦς or the μαθητὴς ὁ ἐπὶ τὸ στήθος του Ἰησοῦ ἀναπεσών) in equal measure as one accurately informed, as one consecrated. These predicates, indeed, intimate this sufficiently. It is expressed still more definitely xix. 35 and xxi. 24. However much occurs that is improbable and strange in this Gospel,¹ it is not to be denied that this Evangelist knew how to legitimate his claim as an accurately informed man through many peculiar traits — traits that make the impression of a precious remembrance, i. 37 f.; xiii. 4 ff., 23 ff.; traits that indicate eye-witness, iv. 6 ff.; xi. 17 ff.; xii. 20–22; xiii. entire; xviii. 15, 16; traits in which the Synoptic tradition is to be corrected, iii 24 coll. Mark i. 14; xi. 2 coll. Mark xiv. 3 ff. (Luke vii. 37 ff.); xiii. 1 and xviii. 28 coll. Matt. xxvi. 17–20; Mark xiv. 12 ff.; Luke xxii. 7 ff., 15; finally xviii. 13 coll. Matt. xxvi. 57 and Parall. Neither are we to overlook those features in which a great delicacy (xi. 27; xiii. 27–30), and a tenderness of feeling just as great (xi. 3, 21, 22; xxi. 15 ff.), are expressed. All this points to the intention to represent *the* Christ whom *he* paints as the true one, authenticated through accurate knowledge and eye-witness. But we are to attend 4) to the *relation* in which the Evangelist represents himself (and Jesus) to *Judaism*: He makes Jesus, indeed, — as Relation to
Judaism. does no other Evangelist — during three years to attend all high feasts in Jerusalem; but it is very peculiar that the hearers are designated throughout as Ἰουδαῖοι, and these for the most part as stupid opponents of Jesus; that the Mosaic

¹ Here belong obscurities, as iv. 51, 52; vi. 16–21; ix. 40; xviii. 24, 25 coll. 13–17. Improbabilities, as ii. 6; iv. 43, 44; vi. 64, 70; viii. 53; xviii. 6. Strange sayings, as vii. 8; xi. 6. Surprising retorts, as vii. 21–23; xiii. 33, et al.

law is designated, so to speak, as something foreign (vii. 22; viii. 17; x. 34; xv. 25), to which also is to be added the peculiar relation in which ὁ ἄλλος μαθητής appears to Peter (xiii. 23-25; xviii. 15, 16; xx. 3-8; xxi. 7, 20 f.) Apparently he represents Peter as the energetic one, the "other disciple" as the consecrated one. He places himself outside of Judaism and *above* it, showing as he does a universalism *at least* as decided as that of Paul (iv. 21-24, 40-42 coll. 48; x. 16; xi. 52; xii. 20 f.; xvii. 20 f.). Yet our Evangelist also differs from *Paul* through his whole view as to form and contents; since, besides the single, but of course important, passage i. 17, there breathes throughout another spirit; we call attention only to the very important idea, so fundamentally different in the two, of ἐντολή (cf., on the one hand, Rom. vii. 8-13; Eph. ii. 15, and on the other hand, John x. 18; xii. 49, 50; xiii. 34; xv. 10-12; 1 John ii. 7; iii. 23). Hence we obtain as the object and intention of the Gospel of John the following: the Evangelist does homage to a gnosis which stands above the Judaistic-Pauline opposition, and is related to the Alexandrine theosophy,¹ yet in such a way that this is raised to the higher Christian potency. By means of this Christian gnosis he means to represent Jesus to his readers as *Son of God*, not in the Jewish-Messianic nor in the physical, but in the *ideal* sense, as the light and life from God, and he designs to lead the readers to *faith* in this Son of God, i.e. to the living recognition of him; and in order to be able to do this rightly, and to prove this Son of God to be the *genuine*, he authenticates himself as consecrated and accurately informed.

Conclusion
as to object
and inten-
tion.

c) *The Intention of the Apocalypse.*

96. General View of Biblical Prophecy.

Otherwise than in the historical writings doubt may arise in reference to *prophetical* books, and particularly the Apocalypse, whether we are here to inquire after an intention or after an

¹ This is admitted by few conservative scholars, and there is much to be said per contra. — Tr.

object. "An object," it may be said, "presupposes rational reflection; but this is precisely the opposite of inspiration, from which the prophecy has proceeded. To seek an intention in a prophetic book is nothing else than to lose sight of the divine, and to bring the human into undue prominence." But this objection, so far as prophecy in general is concerned, rests upon a misunderstanding of the nature of prophecy, — and as regards the Johannæan Apocalypse in particular, upon a misunderstanding of this book itself.

a) The *biblical* prophecy, as all prophecy, has of course proceeded from divine inspiration, but is distinguished from analogous *heathen* phenomena precisely by the fact that it is not ecstatic and unconscious, but conscious. Cf. in general *Oehler*, on the relation of the Old Testament prophecy to the heathen divination (Gratulationsprogramm, 1861). If, then, even in the Christian church ecstatic prophecy occurred, and the ecstasy was regarded by the Montanists, indeed, as essential to prophecy, this phenomenon and opinion has been rightly regarded by the church as abnormal. The true Israelitish and primitive Christian prophecy is of another kind; in reference to the latter, expressions of the Apostle Paul (1 Cor. xiv.) are clear and decisive, *distinguishing*, as he does, between precisely the ecstatic glossolaly and prophecy as conscious and considerate discourse, cf. esp. vs. 2–4, 14 ff., 23–25. But even supposing that the condition of the seer while receiving the revelation had been ecstatic and unconscious, yet the conclusion would be inapplicable to the Apocalypse as a writing, inasmuch as the Apocalyptic designates indeed his inspired condition (i. 10; iv. 2: *ἦν — ἐγενόμην ἐν πνεύματι*) as a thing of the past. We will not here enter more minutely into the artistic arrangement, the symbolical numbers, etc., — things that presuppose rational reflection. β) Furthermore, biblical prophecy as conscious, and not least that of our Apocalyptic, rests upon a *consciousness of the condition of the people* or of the church. This is so certain that precisely the most of the biblical prophecies are the best sources for the knowledge of the Israelitish history. The same, also, may be

Biblical and
heathen
prophecy
distinguish-
ed.

Basis of bib-
lical proph-
ecy in con-
sciousness
of the con-
dition of the
people.

Prophecy
never mere
prediction
or instruc-
tion, but
practical
inculcation.

maintained with regard to the Johannean Apocalypse (see below). On these conditions, which the prophet finds, and by which he is moved, the prophetic discourses also rest as their *basis*. Now and then, it is true, they go to remote times, yet always to such as lie within the horizon of the seer and stand in connection with his present. A new temporal development called forth *new prophecies*, cf. Jer. xxvi. 18–19; Isa. xliii. 18, 19. γ) Because, finally, all prophecy, even though divinely effected, yea, just *because* divinely effected, proceeds from the religious consciousness of the condition of the present, and from the divine counsel in relation thereto, prophecy had never merely the meaning of a prediction and was never directed merely to instruction, but always mediately or immediately to a *practical end*, to conversion, to exhortation or encouragement. All the prophetic discourses of the Old Testament have such an aim, and that precisely the Johannean Apocalypse by no means least has such an end in view, is clear not only from the seven epistles, but also from the beginning and conclusion of the book (cf. i. 4–8; xxii. 12 ff.). But this practical object presupposes in the prophet a reference to *his readers* and to *his time* and the time standing in connection therewith. Hence it is perfectly justifiable, yea, necessary, indeed, to the understanding thereof, to search for the object or the intention of this prophetic book. Cf. above § 67 f.

97. Application of the Categories.

Has the author indicated his intention?

a) The *first* question here, as everywhere, is: Has the author himself anywhere expressed himself with reference to the intention of his writing? This must appear either in the introduction or in the conclusion. Now a particular object is given in neither place, but, indeed, a significant thought, which we may regard as the theme of the whole (i. 3) μακάριος ὁ ἀναγινώσκων καὶ οἱ ἀκούοντες τοὺς λόγους τῆς προφητείας καὶ τηροῦντες τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ γεγραμμένα · ὁ γὰρ καιρὸς ἐγγύς, and (vs. 7) Ἰδοὺ ἔρχεται μετὰ τῶν νεφελῶν καὶ ὄψεται αὐτὸν πᾶς ὀφθαλμὸς . . . That is, it is the *certainly and the nearness at hand of the Parousia* which, as the fundamental thought, stands at the

head of the book,—and not as mere theory, but as a thought of powerful *practical concern*, since a *τηρεῖν* of the prophetic word is inculcated. The certainty of this word is so much the greater from being revealed through divine visions. This fundamental thought now is also confirmed through the conclusion of the book (xxii. 12): Ἴδὸν ἔρχομαι ταχύ, καὶ ὁ μισθός μου μετ' ἐμοῦ . . . and vs. 17: Καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ ἡ νύμφη λέγουσιν· Ἔρχου. καὶ ὁ ἀκούων εἰπάτω Ἔρχου . . . and finally vs. 20: Λέγει ὁ μαρτυρῶν ταῦτα Ναί, ἔρχομαι ταχύ. Ἀμήν, ἔρχου κύριε Ἰησοῦ. The fundamental thought of the book, expressed alike in the introduction and in the conclusion, may therefore be embraced in the words, "*Be ready, for the Lord is coming.*"

Cf. Matt. xxiv. 42; Luke xii. 40. β) But what could have caused the Apocalyptic to place this emphasis on the judgment trump? This question leads us over to the *condition of things* in which the seer lived; only from this is the character of the book to be understood. On the condition of affairs, and especially of the Christian church, the Apocalyptic gives us unmistakable information. Cf., first of all, vii. 9–14; where an innumerable multitude of *martyrs* from all nations is adduced, who "came out of great θλίψις" and "have washed their robes in the blood of the Lamb." This evidently refers to a great persecution of Christians; and it appears from the manner in which it is spoken of, that the impression thereof is still tolerably vivid. What persecution? Cf. xvii., esp. vs. 9–11, coll. 18. "The seven heads of the beasts are seven hills, upon which the woman (the πόρνη) sits." Here by Rome, the city of the seven hills is designated as clearly as possible, of which it is said in vs. 18 that she (the woman, "the great city") has dominion over the kings of the earth. Further (vs. 10), "There are seven kings; five of them have fallen (died), one *is* (present), the other is not yet come, and when he shall have come, he will remain a short time," etc. The five kings are evidently five Roman emperors (βασιλεῖς of Roman emperors also 1 Tim. ii. 2; 1 Pet. ii. 17; Joseph. Bell. Jud. V. 13, 6), Augustus, Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius, Nero.

Condition of the church in the author's time.

Persecution

Rome.

Seven kings

The one who now is can only be Galba — and the one still to be expected and to remain only a short time, can only be Otho. Finally, vs. 11 : “ And the beast that was and is not is the eighth, and is one of the seven, and goes into destruction.” The beast is, therefore, likewise a Roman emperor, “ that was and is not,” who hence must belong to the five fallen (dead) ones. When, then, it is said : “ he is one of the seven ” (instead of “ one of the five ”), it seems that it is in order that the mysterious “ beast ” may by no means be designated too precisely. From all this it is clear, that the *πόρνη*, who has dominion over the kings of the earth, and “ is drunk with the blood of the saints ” (vs. 6), is Rome, the capital of the heathen world, and the beast that was and is not, and is one of the seven, is no other than Nero. But how in this case can it be said, “ *καὶ αὐτὸς ὄγδοός ἐστιν* ”? As the eighth it would seem that he must be Vitellius ; but because he is at the same time one of the seven, and an object of fear and abomination, he also must be Nero. But that he is yet designated as the eighth is explicable from a notion at that time spread in the Roman empire, and especially in Christian circles, that Nero was not dead, but only mortally wounded, but had been healed again (cf. xiii. 3), and that he would return for consternation and destruction. Cf. on this expectation Tacit. Hist. II. 8, 9 ; Sueton. Nero 57 ; Dio Cass. LXIV. 9 ; Dio Chrys. Orat. 20. So great was the terror of Nero, especially among the Christians ! and so deep was the impression of the Neronian persecution ! for no other can be meant by the *θλίψις μεγάλη*, chap. vii. 14. But in chap. xiii. this abominated and dreaded *θήριον* is still spoken of, and is designated in vs. 18 by the mysterious number 666 (*χξςʹ*). Of all explanations of this number, that have been given from ancient times till now, only those have claim to consideration which, in accordance with the intimation of the author himself that it is *ἄριθμος ἀνθρώπου*, refer this to a person ; and, indeed, there are only two explanations that can come into account, viz. either *Λατίνος* or *Νέρων*. The first explanation has against it, that it must in that case be *Λατῆινος*, because

The beast.

Christian superstition as to Nero.

The mysterious number 666.

Solutions.

only this form gives the full numerical value 666.¹ Yet this would be no insuperable barrier, inasmuch as this extension of the penultimate syllable of Roman names in -inus now and then occurs in the Greek. On the other hand, this nomen gentilitium does not seem entirely in keeping with the authentic observation of the author, that it is the "number of a man" (of a person). The following explanation, discovered almost simultaneously by four scholars, commends itself much better: Numerical symbolics (Ghematria) was an art practised much by the Jews. Now the Apocalyptic thought in Hebrew, as he wrote in Greek. So the number is explained by the value of the Hebrew letters in $\text{קס"ו}; \text{נרן}; \text{קס"ו}$; viz., $\text{נ} = 50$; $\text{ר} = 200$; $\text{י} = 6$; $\text{נ} = 50$; $\text{ק} = 100$; $\text{ס} = 60$; $\text{ו} = 200$, sum 666. The correctness of this explanation is clear from the fact that through it at the same time the old reading 616 ($\chi\iota\varsigma$) — familiar already to Irenaeus — is explained. The explanation is this: a reader of the Apocalypse who already knew the key to the number, put in the place of the Greek expression Νέρων the Roman Νέρω (נר), and thus the number came out 50 less = 616. From all this it is clear, that under the $\theta\lambda\acute{\alpha}\psi\iota\varsigma$ the Neronian persecution, under the $\pi\acute{o}\rho\eta\eta$ the heathen capital of the world and persecutor of the Christians, Rome, and under the $\theta\acute{\eta}\rho\iota\omicron\nu$ Nero is to be understood.² Against the latter explanation, *Objection.* especially so far as it rests on xvii. 11, it is objected from the "orthodox" side; that expectation of the return of Nero was an error, and according to this explanation the author of the Apocalypse would have participated in this error, which it is unsuitable to suppose. But the claim that no sort of errors can occur in the Holy Scriptures, is a dogmatic postulate, and such in exegesis — as first of all a *historical* science — is inadmissible. Not infallibility, but plenitude of religious spirit, is the charac-

¹ $\Lambda\alpha\tau\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\omicron\varsigma$ analyzed into its letters gives the numerical value: $\Lambda = 30$, $\alpha' = 1$, $\tau' = 300$, $\iota' = 10$, $\nu' = 50$, $\omicron' = 70$, $\sigma' = 200 = 661$. On the other hand, $\Lambda\alpha\tau\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\omicron\varsigma = 666$, because $\epsilon' = 5$ is added.

² After all that has been written on this mysterious passage there remains, and must remain, much doubt. The above solutions are both ingenious; but this is the most that can be said of them. — TR.

The contents of the prophecy.

teristic of Holy Scripture, the *Apocalypse* included. If we seek to realize the impression which these events and the contemporaneous Jewish war, together with the impending destruction of Jerusalem, including the temple court (xi. 2), must have made upon all Jewish Christian hearts, we may understand also the excited *tone* of this book. γ) Let us further, in order to understand the intention of this writing, make clear to ourselves the *prophecy itself* in its principal features. The contents thereof relate, on the one hand, to calamities and judgments on the whole *οικουμένη* and in quite a special way on "the great Babylon," the heathen capital and persecutor of the saints; on the other hand, to the consolation and the rescue of the faithful. It is, in other words, the *battle between the divine and the contra-divine powers*. This battle is a great world-drama, whose periods run according to the sacred number seven—seven seals of the book of fate, seven trumpets, seven vessels of wrath. The continually recurring delay of the final catastrophe is peculiar,—a delay to which the eschatological discourses of Jesus point (Matt. xxiv. 48; xxv. 5). Not only do the loosing of the seventh seal and the blast of the seventh trumpet delay, but after that the latter has ensued (xi. 15), with which, according to x. 7 the final catastrophe was to ensue, the really decisive battle opens first with the second part (from xii. onwards): on the one hand, the Israelitish commonalty, which brings forth the Messiah, and together with her son is persecuted by the dragon; on the other hand, the dragon and the anti-Christian beast, together with the false prophet—then the great Babel, the persecutor of Christians. After, now, the plagues and *θλίψεις* have passed over the just, the *penal judgments* on the contra-divine powers follow (cf. 1 Pet. iv. 17, 18), viz. first of all on the great Babylon (xvii.–xix.), then on Satan, the anti-Christian beast, and the pseudo-prophet (xx. 1–3, 10). These terrific pictures finally vanish behind the consolatory and glorious revelation of the *city of God*, the new Jerusalem (xxi. f.). These prophetic pictures are by no means designed merely to

satisfy the religious curiosity, but to incite the readers to *watchfulness and steadfastness*. Now this brings us back, in conclusion, δ) to the special practical intention, as this is brought home to the conscience of the readers powerfully and effectually in the *seven epistles*¹ (ii. and iii.). What is the fundamental drift of these epistles? However different the religious condition of these Asiatic churches may have been, the intention of all these epistles is one, for all agree in the promise to him that *overcometh*. To the church at Ephesus it is said (ii. 7) : τῷ νικῶντι δώσω αὐτῷ φαγεῖν ἐκ τοῦ ξύλου τῆς ζωῆς, ὁ ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ τοῦ θεοῦ μου; to the church at Smyrna (ii. 11) : ὁ νικῶν οὐ μὴ ἀδικηθῇ ἐκ τοῦ θανάτου τοῦ δευτέρου; to the church at Pergamos (ii. 17) : τῷ νικῶντι δώσω αὐτῷ τοῦ μάννα τοῦ κεκρυμμένου κ. τ. λ.; to the church at Thyatira (ii. 26) : ὁ νικῶν καὶ ὁ τηρῶν ἄχρι τέλους τὰ ἔργα μου, δώσω αὐτῷ ἑξουσίαν ἐπὶ τῶν ἐθνῶν; to the church at Sardis (iii. 5) : ὁ νικῶν οὗτος περιβαλεῖται ἐν ἱματίοις λευκοῖς κ. τ. λ.; to the church at Philadelphia (iii. 12) : ὁ νικῶν ποιήσω αὐτὸν στυλὸν ἐν τῇ ναῷ τοῦ θεοῦ μου κ. τ. λ.; and, finally, to the church at Laodicea (iii. 21) : ὁ νικῶν δώσω αὐτῷ καθίσαι μετ' ἐμοῦ ἐν τῷ θρόνῳ μου, ὡς καὶ ἐνίκησα καὶ ἐκάθισα μετὰ τοῦ πατρός μου ἐν τῷ θρόνῳ αὐτοῦ. We see: upon *steadfast overcoming*, in view of the coming calamity and judgment, everything depends. So then the theme found just at the beginning of the book receives its explanation and confirmation from the condition of Christianity at the time, from the contents of the visions, and from the drift of the exhortatory parts.

Practical
intention as
manifested
in the seven
epistles.

98. Correlation of Induction and Deduction.

The ascertaining of the intention of a writing is for him who himself will for the first time arrive at an understanding thereof, and to this end has to apply the *inductive* method, the highest and the last thing. But for him who has to bring about an understanding *in others* the *deductive* method is to be preferred, and he will proceed from the intention of the writing as the general point of departure. Yet this rule is

¹ Cf. *Trench, The Epistles to the Seven Churches.* — TR.

Method for the investigator. subject to exceptions, 1) for the investigator himself, where the discovery of the intention is difficult and the intention itself is uncertain, and hence needs confirmation ever again through an exegesis of the individual parts; 2) for the teacher, where he may hope that in the long and difficult processes of the induction the hearers or readers will follow him. In any case the determination of the object of a writing must be based upon thorough grammatical, historical, and logical explanation. Yet for success not only conscientiousness and thoroughness of exegetical procedure are requisite, but also the *capacity to throw oneself into the circle of thought of another*, to think with him and to feel with him. For the understanding of a sacred writing in particular, it is indispensable that we should be able to enter into the *religious* manner of thinking and world of thought of the biblical author. But this without a religious sense of his own on the part of the interpreter is impossible. The third part of our work is to treat of the religious sense and understanding.

PART III.

THE

RELIGIOUS UNDERSTANDING.

I. Preliminary Remarks.

The religious understanding is no special part of the interpretation. We cannot, therefore, treat of a "theological explanation" as if it were co-ordinate with the grammatical, historical, and logical explanations. The religious understanding is rather beginning and end of biblical exegesis: *beginning*, for without a religious interest in the documents of Christianity no scientific explanation thereof, that deserves the name, is thinkable. There may be, indeed, a grammatical, a logico-critical, a historico-antiquarian occupation with Scripture, which has not sprung from religious interest, and such occupation is by no means to be condemned, since the results thereof are often an extremely valuable material for the interpreter; but just material, and not interpretation itself! The exegete who, indeed, must himself go through this manifold process will avail himself thankfully of this material, but simply as of a means to the end. The object is the complete understanding of the writing and of the author, and this he only can aim at who has a religious interest in understanding Scripture. But the religious interest, which is at the same time a preliminary understanding, is to be regarded not only as the beginning and incitement to scientific investigation, but also as the *result* and summing up of the investigation itself. After the writing has been explained in detail and according to its various aspects, all this

Place of religious understanding in Scripture interpretation.

Two views.

One makes religious interest paramount.

The other gives precedence to grammar, etc.

The religious and scientific interest to be kept distinct.

finds its conclusion in the religious understanding, and for this bears its fruit. On the other hand, it is a matter of dispute whether, and how far, the religious interest is to *accompany* or *guide* the exegetical operations. Here the views of theologians divide; it may be said, indeed, that just here the prevailing theological directions come most of all to their expression: the *one* would have the religious interest to preside in the whole business of Scripture interpretation; for, it is said, Scripture is designed to be interpreted, and should be interpreted in the same spirit in which it was written, the Spirit which inspired the sacred authors must also be their interpreter. If, therefore, the grammatical, the historico-critical, the logical explanation furnish results that are injurious to the religious interest, the latter is to put its veto upon them. Should, therefore, a conflict occur between the scientific explanation and the religious interest, the latter has the precedence. The *other* direction claims, on the contrary, that—where the question of science arises—the religious interest is to withdraw, and at least not mingle with the investigation. “*Mulier taceat in Ecclesia.*” For what has the religious interest to do with the questions of textual criticism, of grammar, and lexicology, of logical connection, of history, and archaeology? Can the religious consciousness determine whether the Cod. Alexandrinus or the Cod. Cantabrigensis is right, whether a *ὅτι* is telic or causal, whether a relative pronoun refers to the last substantive or the next to the last, whether *κύριος* in a certain passage refers to God or to Christ, whether the linguistic character of 1 Timothy allows or forbids us to ascribe the Epistle to the Apostle Paul, etc.? The religious and the scientific interest are thus to be kept strictly apart. A *third* view would not, indeed, have the scientific interest biased by the religious; yet the religious interest should not be excluded, but should also have a word to say. Many questions and investigations of science, indeed, touch the religious faith not in the least; on the other hand, there are questions that cannot be ignored by the religious interest. But if it should be asked,

which these questions are, where the religious interest is to step in, and what the limits are beyond which faith is to address to the scientific investigation a "thus far and no farther," the answers will be very various, even among the moderately liberal, inasmuch as the religious interest of the one will draw the limits of free inquiry broader, that of another, narrower. We see that the "religious interest," in as far as it claims the right to interfere with the material of the exegetical and historico-critical investigation, is something very indefinite, and that it is, for the most part, confounded with the religious *conception*. In fact, the indefiniteness and complication arise from such confounding, and from the way and manner in which each one translates his religious need into the language of conception and of understanding. Clearness can only be brought into the matter when the *nature* of the religious consciousness, as well in relation to Scripture as to the scientific study thereof, is more accurately defined. The religious interest, then, is

- 1) *motive* to the study of the Scriptures,
- 2) it becomes objective in the scientific study of Scripture, and is,
- 3) as the fruit of both, the complete theological *understanding* of Scripture.

Division of
the subject.

1. *The Religious Interest as Motive to Scripture Study.*

2. **Universality of Religion in Humanity.**

When our religious consciousness, as Christians, is first awakened, it is found, as a rule, in connection already with the Bible as the sacred book, as the source of our religious knowledge. By this we mean that our religious forebodings and feelings are themselves a product of Scripture; and it is true, that when we begin to *be conscious* of our religious forebodings and feelings, we have usually already an idea of the Scriptures. But the *unconscious* precede the conscious forebodings and feelings, and the former is *antecedent* to the Scriptures. Just as the sacred writings in all religions and, not least of all in the Israelitish and Christian, have arisen from the religious spirit,

Religious disposition immanent in the human soul.

Objections set aside.

Rom. i. 19, 20.

Tertullian.

Clement of Alexandria

not vice versa (cf. above I. § 8 f.), so in a normal development of the individual the unconscious religious foreboding precedes all knowledge of Scripture. *The religious disposition* is immanent in the human soul,¹ and if there are savage peoples, which discover no trace of religion, and if among our civilized peoples there are thousands who seem to be devoid of all religion and of any religious need, this proves nothing against the above proposition, for 1) the nature of a species (resp. mankind) is not learned from the most imperfect and most dwarfed specimens; 2) non-religion in civilized peoples and educated individuals arises either from opposition to a certain *form* of religion, which they identify with the *essence* of religion, or there is actually often more religion in such individuals than people think, or they themselves are conscious of. In the former case it is by no means proved that the individuals in question, if religion had been presented to them in another form, would have been non-religious. In the latter case a *latent* religious consciousness may manifest itself either as lively appreciation of nature or lively appreciation of art, or as moral feeling or the feeling of justice. In these forms, then, the religious faculty is present in all men not entirely barbarous or stunted, and this is more original than any belief in Scripture and than any positive religion, as the most enlightened men of Christian antiquity saw, cf. Rom. i. 19, 20, ... τὸ γνωστὸν τοῦ θεοῦ φανερόν ἐστιν ἐν αὐτοῖς · ὁ θεὸς γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐφάνερωσεν · τὰ γὰρ ἀόρατα αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ κτίσεως κόσμου τοῖς ποιήμασιν νοούμενα καθορᾶται, ἣ τε αἰδὸς αὐτοῦ δύναμις καὶ θεϊότης . . . and ibid. ii. 14, 15, οἷτινες ἐνδείκνυνται τὸ ἔργον τοῦ νόμου γραπτὸν ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις, συμμαρτυρούσης αὐτῶν τῆς συνειδήσεως κ. τ. λ. Coll. Tertull. De Testimonio Animae, c. 5: "Haec testimonia animae quanto vera, tanto simplicia, quanto simplicia, tanto vulgaria, quanto vulgaria, tanto communia, quanto communia, tanto naturalia, quanto naturalia, tanto divina." Clem. Alex. Cohortatio ad Gent.: ἦν δὲ τις ἔμφυτος ἀρχαία πρὸς οὐρανὸν ἀνθρώποις κοινωνία,

¹ The best discussion of this subject with which I have met is that of *Ulrich, Leib und Seele*, 688 ff. — Tr.

ἀγνοία μὲν ἐσκοτισμένη, ἄφνω δέ που διεκθρώσκεισα τοῦ σκότους καὶ ἀναλάμπουσα. August. *Retract.* 1, 13: Res ipsa quae nunc Religio Christiana nuncupatur, erat apud antiquos nec defuit ab initio generis humani, quousque Christus veniret in carnem, unde vera religio, quae jam erat, coepit appellari Christiana.

3. Development of Religious Disposition.

But this religious disposition would remain forever undeveloped, or if developed or awakened dry up again, if it should not be awakened, developed, and fostered by those in whom religion has not remained mere disposition, but has become actual religious consciousness. This awakening influence is, first of all, living *men*, the *living word*; not written documents. In the Catholic church it is the priests and confessors; in the Protestant churches, after the parents, the teachers and preachers. The more developed and awakened, now, the religious need, the more will he who imparts religion appear as a priest of God, and — in case he is actually a true witness of God — his words will appear as the words of God. But the more the individual is nourished and filled by this bearer of religion, the more does he himself grow to religious maturity, and in the measure in which this happens is he emancipated from priestly authority; he comes to see that this, however enlightened, is still a *human* authority, and hence can no longer give him complete satisfaction. He needs a more immediate, a fuller revelation; he feels the necessity of receiving religion at first hand. Now this first hand is *Holy Scripture*. Whether, now, it be that the individual — as is normal in the bosom of Protestantism — is brought to the Scriptures, and instructed therein from childhood, or has, first at a later period, and in consequence of a religious awakening, come to the knowledge thereof, in either case he will reverence and love in Scripture the divine word, the source of his religious life. Yet the relation of the two to Scripture is different in form; in the *former* case Scripture is to the individual in the first instance and essentially *authority*, and that, too, in its totality; it is so by virtue of its historical sanction as given absolutely by God. In the second instance,

Stages of religious development in individuals.

Supposed cases, and the view of Scripture natural to each.

the individual having arrived at religious maturity will experience also in himself the witness of the Spirit, which brings home to him the truth and power of certain expressions and passages. But on this he will lay weight only in as far as this inner witness confirms to him what he has previously believed on authority, and in no wise will this inner witness, which of course does not attest each and every thing in Scripture, be a ground for distinguishing between Scripture and the word of God. In the *other* case not Scripture as a whole, but in the first instance only certain *words* of Scripture, are immediate divine revelations to the individual; they are to him not so much authority as witnesses of his own inner life, and this in turn bears witness to the divine truth in Scripture. He believes in the word of God in Scripture, because he has for this the testimonium Spiritus Sancti; the other believes therein, because it is given. He who believes in Scripture for the sake of the inner witness has no trouble in distinguishing between the word of God and Scripture; rather this distinction will come to him altogether spontaneously. Not that he depreciates the rest of the contents of Scripture! Rather he esteems it highly for the sake of the divine germ; to him the word of God in Scripture is the treasure hidden in the field, which without the latter he cannot dig out. Not that he does not recognize and treasure Scripture as historically given; but this is to him only a secondary matter. To the *former* Scripture is primarily the historically given book, and only secondarily the book confirmed through the testimonium internum. To the *other* it is primarily what is confirmed through the testimonium Spiritus Sancti, and only secondarily what is given, or ecclesiastical authority.¹ But the latter case will always be the rarer. The pious layman will, as a rule, regard Scripture in its totality as divine authority, and from this presupposition will seek to understand it, and —

¹ We leave out of view entirely those that from fear of negation take refuge in the thickest positivism and shudder at every free investigation as negation and dangerous innovation, as well as those to whom free investigation is welcome only as negation.

so far as he has religious experience and insight — will actually understand it.¹

4. Popular Understanding of Scripture.

The laic understanding is *sound* if it be rooted in the religious need and consciousness, if it be supported chiefly by practical religious interest, and be directed to the furtherance of the inner man, 2 Tim. iii. 16. It is *justified* so far as it conditions "the universal priesthood" of Christians, so far as it exercises and guards the popular and practical study and understanding of the Bible over against the specifically theological, and so far as it does not wish to know the matters better than, according to the education and special knowledge of the person in question, it *can* know. But the laic understanding is *unsound* when it becomes either dogmatic or fantastic. It may easily become dogmatic, not only in consequence of an orthodox or formalistic education, but also in consequence of a peculiarity of the religious bent of the person in question. All religious feeling has, indeed, the inclination to become conception, and to change itself into the form and language of the understanding; this is altogether normal. But if now the religious consciousness plants itself on its conceptional and rational stage, and assumes the form of the statute; if it accepts this theoretical form at the sacrifice of the practical side, or independently of this, the laic understanding is unsound. Or if the religious consciousness, drawing its nourishment from the Bible, instead of being directed chiefly to the practical, prefers to follow the impulse of the imagination and devotes itself to precisely what is darkest and most mysterious in Scripture, this is an unsound direction. Not that the fantasy should have no part at all in the understanding of the Bible, since how are the poetical parts, how, in general, is the figurative language of the Bible to be understood without fantasy? But every occupation with Scripture, or attempt to understand Scripture, is unsound

How far the laic understanding is sound, and how far justified.

How far unsound.

¹ It is unnecessary to remark upon this paragraph, as one of the many instances in which the author makes the individual human reason the arbiter as to the divine and the human in Scripture. — TR.

How far unjustifiable.

in which the interest of curiosity and idle subtilty, the desire to go beyond the understanding of the author, prevails at the expense of the practical religious interest. But the laic understanding is not only unsound, but also *unjustifiable* if the person in question wishes to know more and better than he *can* know, i.e. if he forms judgments upon things and aspects in Scripture, on which knowledge is requisite that he does not now possess. This is more important, as it is characteristic of the laity in *every* matter not only not to know much that belongs to the matter, but also *not to be conscious of this ignorance*.¹ If then, moreover, to this is added the ambition to be of some importance in church and theology; this laic theology thinks it has cause to set itself as "orthodox" (gläubig) against "heterodox" (ungläubig) science; so from the laic understanding, perfectly justifiable per se, the imprudence of spiritual pretension has burst forth, with which no agreement is possible.

5. Scientific Understanding of Scripture.

Relation of the popular to the scientific understanding of Scripture.

The general interest in Scripture, as well as the understanding thereof drawn from the depths of the religious consciousness, may become the *incitement to the scientific study and understanding of the Bible*. Not as if the scientific understanding necessarily proceeds from the laic understanding, as if the latter must unconditionally develop into the former. Just as in religion, if it is sound, the theoretical and the practical are one, so also the religious interest or understanding of Scripture is in no way consumed in the scientific knowledge thereof, but will develop just as much in its practical aspect. But now it results from the limitations of individual capacities that in one man the religious spirit, and hence the immediate understanding of Scripture, is more a practical understanding, in another more a theoretical. This is the difference of the *χαρίσματα*; with one man the *χάρισμα δυνάμεων, ἀντιλήψεως* or *κυβερνήσεως* prevails, with another the *χάρισμα γνώσεως*. The

¹ These are Swiss and German laymen (not Americans), that our author speaks of. — Tr.

latter is inclined by nature to *theology*, and, if his religious interest is directed chiefly to the Christian documents, to *biblical theology*. Here the question may arise, What is the proper *transition* from the immediate and popular understanding of Scripture to the scientific? This question is important for the reason that the lamentation is often uttered, that through scientific study faith is lost. We cannot, therefore, pass by the question how far, in general, this lament is well-founded. We leave out of view here special circumstances that have their ground in the individuality of teachers or of pupils, and hold ourselves to the general question. The question is, what is meant by "faith in Scripture" (Bible faith); by this may be understood faith in the unconditioned inspiration and infallibility of Scripture — by this may be understood belief that the Scriptures, even according to the text received and handed down since the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, are from beginning to end a divine codex of revelation; thus an "injuring" or "endangering" of this belief is inevitable. If, then, such a hearer learns that the principal proof-text for the doctrine of the Trinity (1 John v. 7) is spurious, that the genuineness of the section about the adulteress (John vii. 53–viii. 11), of the conclusion of Mark (xvi. 9–20), of the account of the angel at the pool of Bethesda (John v. 4) has been disputed with right; if he hears that 1 Tim. iii. 16 is to be read and translated not "God (*θεός*) manifest in the flesh," but "who (*ὅς*) has been manifested in the flesh," that John xiv. 1 is to be rendered not "ye believe in God, believe also in me"; but "believe in God and believe in me," etc.; his "faith in the Bible" will certainly be extremely disturbed. Nay, it will probably be a source of great disquietude to him if he learns that our division into chapters proceeds not from the sacred authors themselves, but from the Cardinal Hugo of St. Caro (thirteenth century), and our division into verses was made not until the sixteenth century, by the learned printer Robt. Stephanus (Etienne). Still more disquieting and offensive by far will it be for him to learn that several writings of

Diversities
of gifts.Transition
from the
popular to
the scientific.What is
faith in
Scripture?

the New Testament have not at all times been regarded as genuine and canonical writings, that these and other writings from linguistic and historical grounds are held as doubtful, that most of the Old Testament passages cited by the New Testament writers have not here the sense that was attached to them by the Old Testament writers themselves, etc. The more this young man has come to the scientific study of the Bible with the dogmatic conception of the inspiration and the equal divinity of Scripture in all its parts, the more will his "faith in the Bible" be damaged. But that "faith" which must needs be overthrown, because it contradicts historical truth is *not* the proper transition to theological study, neither is it right *faith* at all. That is not believing in Scripture when it is settled beforehand that the words of Jesus or of the Apostles must run so and so—they must have this and that sense if they are to be regarded as the words of God; or Scripture must have *arisen* so or so if we are to be able to regard it as *Holy* Scripture. Not maintaining, but *inquiring and learning*, should we enter upon the study of Scripture. Even the non-theologian *has* something in Scripture, and knows *what* he has therein: not a book endowed with these presupposed supernatural attributes, but "the word of life," the holy document of our faith. But the better he knows this, the more obedient and receptive is his attitude towards Scripture (1 Sam. iii. 10), and the less will his faith be destroyed through the knowledge that this Scripture, although full of *divine* words and eternal truths, is yet through and through *human*. The genuine believer, as inquiring and willing to learn, will, indeed, have a foreboding of the fact that his faith, so far as it is knowledge, is still exceedingly defective, and needs not only enriching, but also much correction. Genuine faith, moreover, is not pusillanimous, but courageous and confident; it has the assurance that, even if many reputed props of faith prove rotten and must fall away, the saving truth yet remains forever. His faith will not be endangered by science who goes to the scientific study of Scripture with that eagerness to learn and this courage. Cf. above I. § 15.

Proper attitude of the student of Scripture.

2. *The Relation of the Religious Interest to the Exegetical Procedure.*

6. Religious Interest and Science.

We cannot thus allow that a particular dogmatic conception or doctrine of Scripture must be confirmed through the exegetical work, as if Scripture were subordinate to an ecclesiastical opinion; but the question is simply and only as to what we, *objectively and historically*, have in Scripture as a whole and in its parts. This question can be decided not by religious feeling and interest, but merely by science proceeding objectively and without presupposition. It is the religious interest, indeed, that, as a rule, *impels* to this scientific study. It is the religious interest that will know what *we have* at bottom *in Scripture*. But this itself cannot be determined by means of the religious interest, in general not by means of a subjective interest. Just where the investigation itself, i.e. the criticism and the exegesis, begins the religious interest must withdraw, and the matter is to be committed confidently to the scientific processes. The religious and the scientific agree, indeed, in the fact that *both aim at the truth*. They differ only in the fact that the religious interest is directed to *what is true for me*, but the scientific to *what is true in itself*. But in unnumbered cases, namely, where questions of textual criticism, of language, of logic, etc. arise, we have to do with purely objective matters, and the religious feeling can have nothing to say thereabout. Thus the entire critical and exegetical work, as such, belongs simply to unbiassed and disinterested science, and the religious interest can in no wise sit in judgment on the results of science, but must submit all precarious, doubtful or false results of science in turn to science itself, because only *science* can correct science; on the contrary the religious consciousness must stand free *to appropriate or not to appropriate the results of science*. These results may be *either* of such a nature as not to affect the religious interest; in which case it simply leaves them undecided; *or* the religious interest is really affected thereby; in which case they may be

Wherein the religious and the scientific agree and differ.

How the religious consciousness is to deal with scientific results.

When the religious protest is justified.

either such as it can *appropriate*, or they may be of such a nature that it *cannot* do this; in which latter case it either ignores them or repels them with protest. In this we do not, of course, say that science now on its part is obliged to respect this protest of the religious interest; it will rather act critically in the matter, i.e. prove whether the protest is justified or not. In the former case it is in fact incumbent upon science to revise its results. But in what case is the protest of the religious need justified? *Not* if it has proceeded from an ecclesiastical presupposition or from a merely subjective pious feeling; for the reason that neither biblical truth is to be subordinated to ecclesiastical, nor historical truth to subjective feeling. *But*, indeed, if the religious protest is directed against arbitrariness and "tendency" theology,¹ science is not to avoid a renewed investigation. The dogmatically colored religious consciousness will, indeed, always be inclined to find in scientific results that are at variance with itself, "tendency" and arbitrariness, even where this is not the case; whether such actually find place or not, only an impartial science again can decide. In such case the religious consciousness as well as the scientific investigation must each withdraw to *its own* province, until either the former succeeds in convincing the latter that it has overlooked or attached too little importance to certain considerations, or the *latter* succeeds in convincing the former that *its* result is true, and the *σκάνδαλον* of the former merely a scandalum sumptum.

7. Religious Interest and Textual Criticism.

Textual criticism has a religious as well as scientific side.

It belongs equally to the religious and to the literary-historical interest to know how the Apostles, apostolic disciples, and Evangelists originally wrote. So, then, *textual criticism* rests as well on a religious as on a scientific interest; but the questions of textual criticism can be answered absolutely in a

¹ The technical designation in Germany of the critical school of Baur, which has attempted to explain the rise of the New Testament writings from the action and reaction of supposed tendencies in the early church, especially the Pauline and the Petrine tendencies, and attempts to harmonize them. — TR.

scientific way only as was shown above (II. § 1 ff.). Very many variations are merely orthographical, as *λήψομαι* or *λήμψομαι*, *ἦλθον* or *ἦλθαν*, et al., and do not affect the religious interest in the least; others are grammatical as, e.g. the difference between *γινώσκωσιν* and *γινώσκουσιν* (John xvii. 3), between *καταδουλώσουσιν* and *καταδουλώσονται* (Gal. ii. 4), differences that affect the religious interest only in so far as it may be supposed to be at variance therewith, that the New Testament authors have allowed themselves in such barbarisms as the future or the present indicative after *ἵνα*. But cf. 1 Cor. iv. 6 (*ἵνα μὴ . . . φυσιοῦσθε*), Gal. ii. 2 (*μήπως . . . ἔδραμον*), et al. But even if those barbarisms not completely assured by criticism stood isolated, the intermeddling of the religious interest would still be inadmissible, because it would rest on the groundless postulate that the New Testament authors might and could have written no barbarisms. This has regard to the form only. But there are variations of reading that have to do with the contents and affect more closely the religious interest. The dogmatic more than the religious feeling is disturbed by the fact that 1 Tim. iii. 16 is probably to be read *ὁς* and not *θεός*, and thus the formula, "God manifest in the flesh," is abolished. Yet without regard to the fact that the same thing in substance is said in John i. 14, we must here also insist upon the fact, that not the dogmatic interest, but simply and solely the preponderance of the critical grounds has to decide upon the genuineness of the one or the other reading. Of another kind, to be sure, is Luke ix. 55, 56, where the *Textus Receptus*, with several ancient witnesses, after *ἐπετίμησεν αὐτούς* reads, *Οὐκ οἴδατε πόλου πνεύματος ἔστε ὑμεῖς*; and further, *ὁ γὰρ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου οὐκ ἔλθε ψυχὰς ἀνθρώπων ἀπολέσαι, ἀλλὰ σῶσαι*, while the most and best Codd., as *NA²⁶AC* . . ., omit entirely both these passages. Here one cannot be expected to bear with equanimity being obliged to give up in the text these words, so entirely in keeping with the mind of Jesus. Here, also, without regard to this, the objective fact has the last word, and we must acquiesce in

Groundless
postulate.

Preponder-
ance of crit-
ical grounds
decisive.

Incorrect
citations.

this. More hazardous seem actual blunders, as, especially, incorrect citations, such as Mark i. 1, where the prophetic passage cited is designated as the word of Isaiah, whereas it stands not in Isaiah, but in Mal. iii. 1, and Matt. xxvii. 9, where a passage is cited as an expression of Jeremiah, whereas it stands in Zech. xi. 13. Here the religious interest seems in fact endangered, and hence, also, is justified in giving the preference in the passage in Mark to the other reading, which omits *Ἡσαίου*, and in the passage in Matthew either to prefer the reading *Ζαχαρίου* (very weakly attested, certainly), or the other reading which dispenses with the name entirely. But even in this case the religious interest must yield to historical veracity — the biassed religious interest to the unbiassed. The same holds true with regard to entire sections, as John vii. 53–viii. 11 and Mark xvi. 9–20, whose genuineness is more than doubtful.¹ A mind, to which the word of God and Scripture are simply identical, may well feel extremely shocked to find that whole sections of the latter are ungenuine; but such is precisely the case, and a glance into any critical edition, or into the Codd. Vatic., Sinait., and others, that have been made accessible through the press, must convince even those that have the deepest mistrust of criticism of the well-grounded nature of the doubt. To the sound religious mind the possession of the authentic text must be more important than the possession of certain passages sanctified, as it were, by tradition.

8. Religious Interest and Grammar.

The religious (or rather the dogmatic) interest has just as little right to intermeddle with the *grammatical explanation*, as this is to be determined through the connection and the linguistic usage. It may feel tempted to such intermeddling through the habit of finding in Scripture dicta probantia for certain doctrines, if it is shown that this or that passage has

¹ For a vindication of the genuineness of Mark xvi. 9–20, see *Bleek*, *Synoptische Erklärung*; *Burgon*, *The Genuineness of the last twelve verses of Mark*; and a valuable Article by *Dr. John A. Broadus* in the *Baptist Quarterly* for 1869. *Burgon* refers to *Dr. Broadus's* Article with approbation. Tr.

another sense. A conflict may arise, e.g. between the dogmatic interest, which is accustomed to regard Matt. xxviii. 19, 2 Cor. xiii. 13, and even Rom. xi. 36 as *sedes doctrinae* de Sacra Trinitate, and the scientific exegesis, which shows from the connection that the trinity of essence, at least, is not contained in these passages. The dogmatic interest is likewise offended when it is shown from the connection that the words John x. 30 do not mean to express, at least immediately, the unity of essence of the Son with the Father, but first of all only the unity of the *δύναμις σωζούσα*. The interest, that would derive everything good exclusively from faith, will not without chagrin suffer the so-called proof-text Rom. xiv. 23 to be snatched away through the proof that here not faith as the principle of the Christian life is spoken of, but the conviction that a certain action is allowable. Nevertheless here, also, the scientific proof has its full justification over against the dogmatic interest, and neither must the former yield to the latter, nor is a compromise between the two admissible. Here, also, we have simply to do with the sense that the author has designed; with a *historical fact* that is to be ascertained no otherwise than from the connection and from the parallel passages. The well-understood religious interest will in this way, and in this alone, arrive at the right knowledge of the Scripture word, and will appropriate this as it *is* in itself, and not as one would have it. Not unfrequently the dogmatically colored religious consciousness will come into collision with the scientific exegesis when it falls to the lot of the latter to show that many passages of the Old Testament that are cited by the New Testament authors as proof-texts for a doctrine or a fact, have not *the* sense which the New Testament authors lend to them. Cf. Matt. i. 22, 23 coll. Isa. vii. 14, which passage has been looked upon from of old as a genuine proof-text for the birth of Christ from a virgin (but see II. § 33); further, Matt. ii. 15 (cf. as above) and many others. It is, to be sure, hard to admit that the Apostles or Evangelists have erred, that they have attributed to an Old Testament word an

Conflict between the dogmatic interest and scientific exegesis.

O. T. citations in the N. T.

incorrect sense; but in Gal. iv. 22 ff.; 1 Cor. x. 3, 4; ix. 9 such cannot be denied.¹ Cf. in general II. § 32 ff. with I. § 37 ff. It must here be repeated, that not the religious interest in itself, but only the *dogmatically colored* religious interest can come in conflict with genuine and correct exegesis, for that subordinates itself to the facts, while this has always striven to subordinate the facts to itself. The latter can be avoided only *by keeping the scientific and the religious functions purely separate.*

9. Religious Interest and the Confessional Consciousness.

Yet cases occur where such a separation of the religious interest and the exegetical work is impossible, and the influence of the former upon the latter seems to be necessary. It is well-known what influence the *confessional consciousness* has exercised, and in part still exercises, on exegesis. The Catholic explains the words pronounced by Christ at the institution of the Lord's Supper otherwise than the Protestant, the Lutheran otherwise than the Reformed. We know how differently the passage Rom. ix. 14 ff. is explained by Lutherans and Reformed. The confessional consciousness has exercised an influence even on the explanation of such christological passages as Phil. ii. 6 ff. And, indeed, this influence has consisted not only in the fact that the Scripture passages in question have made different impressions on the confessional consciousness of the interpreters, but in the fact that they have sought to sustain this their confessional view through a corresponding exegesis. Should not this be allowed and even justified? To this we can simply say, dogmatics is one thing, exegesis another. If dogmatics were identical with exegesis, if it were simply *biblical* dogmatics, it would have to rest on exegesis alone. Conversely, if the Christian consciousness of the present (of the theologian of the present) were identical with the spirit of primitive Christianity, that relation to Scripture would be

¹ Cf. on these passages *Lightfoot*, *Ellicott*, and *Lange*, Comm. in loc. Gal.; *Lange*, in loc. Cor. In the interest of a *liberal* dealing with Scripture our author sometimes appears *dogmatic* in his assertions. — Tr.

naturally and scientifically justified. But dogmatics and the confessional consciousness, even though grounded on the word of God in Scripture, are yet essentially modified through the development of Christianity up to the present time. Exegesis on the contrary has to do simply with the historical facts of the sense of the sacred author. Accordingly the influence of the confessional consciousness on Scripture interpretation *cannot be exegetically justified*. Nay, it may be said — as moreover must have become clear from the history of exegesis — that biblical exegesis has become scientific and objective precisely to the extent that it has been able to emancipate itself from the fetters of ecclesiastical creeds. The matter may be best illustrated by the examples cited above: 1) The words pronounced at the institution of the Lord's Supper (Mark xiv. 22-24; Matt. xxvi. 26-28), especially in the expression τοῦτο ἐστί (τὸ σῶμα μου on to τὸ αἷμα μου), conceived in a purely exegetical way, show the groundlessness of all three confessional explanations, since it cannot be denied that the ἐστί here is a mere copula, as in Matt. xiii. 37, 38; Luke viii. 11 f.; John xv. 1, 5; but being a mere copula it is more than probable that Jesus, in accordance with the Hebraistic usage, did not express it at all (cf., e.g. Gen. ii. 23; Isa. v. 7), that thus the whole subject of dispute falls away.¹ But if it should be further argued that even without an expressed copula the real identity or immanence, or merely the symbolical meaning may be expressed in the words, what Dr. Strauss has said remains true: "Only in the transferring into the abstracter consciousness of the West and of the more recent time, what the ancient Oriental thought of under his τοῦτο ἐστί is analyzed into those various possibilities of meaning, which we if we would reproduce in ourselves the original thoughts must not separate in this way at all. To the writers of our Gospels the bread in the Eucharist *was* the body of Christ; but had they been asked whether

Words pronounced at the institution of the Eucharist.

Strauss's view.

¹ See on the power of the Aramaic language to express the exact relation between subject and predicate in this case Cardinal Wiseman's learned and elaborate treatise in his *Horae Syriacae*. This discussion will be found very interesting by those somewhat familiar with Syriac. — TR.

Rom. ix.
6 ff. and the
doctrine of
election.

the bread was changed? they would have denied it; had they been spoken to of an eating of the body with and under the form of the bread, they would not have understood what was meant; had it been argued that, therefore, the bread merely means the body, they would not have been content with this." 2) The passage Rom. ix. 6 ff. has been, as is well-known, a proof-text with the Reformed (Calvinists) for the doctrine of election, while the Catholics, the Lutherans and the Arminians did not find this doctrine in that section. Here also we are to disregard every confessional interest, and to have regard purely to the connection and the intention of the passage. But from these it is clear that the Apostle has *not* in mind the setting forth of a doctrine of election, but the discussion of the painful question whether the Israelites have been excluded from salvation (vs. 1-5). Now it is indisputable that ix.-xi. forms one whole, in which this subject in its different aspects is treated (cf. x. 1; xi. 1, 25 ff.), it being shown in ix. 6-29 that there can be no claim to salvation, but that it is all free grace; in ix. 30 to the end of x. that the exclusion of the Jews from salvation is a self-deserved exclusion; and, finally, in xi. that it is not absolute and final. So harsh are the words of the Apostle in the first section, so mild are they in the last! If, therefore, it is the Apostle's chief aim to make prominent the free grace and the unconditioned counsel of God with all emphasis over against the claiming of salvation on the part of the Jews as a matter of right, the drift of the discussion is directed just to this, and not to a decretum absolutum and duplex. This proceeds not from any dogmatic sympathy or antipathy whatever, but from the connection of the passage itself. 3) The confessional consciousness could have an influence upon the explanation of Phil. ii. 6 f. in as far as the Lutherans found in the passage the unio naturarum Christi, and that in the form of the communicatio idiomatum; the Reformed, on the other hand, were averse to this doctrine, and hence to an explanation which ministers thereto. As a result of this interest the one party explained the expression *év*

Phil. ii. 6 f.
and the unio
naturarum
Christi.

μορφῇ θεοῦ ὑπάρχων of the immanent divine glory of the incarnate Logos, regarding the present participle as contemporaneous with the *ἐαυτὸν ἐκένωσεν*, while the other party regarded it as referring to the pre-incarnate Logos. That not agreement with a confessional doctrine, but simply and solely exegetical considerations are here to decide, is self-evident. See, moreover, II. § 47.

10. Religious Interest and Historical Criticism.

The religious interest seems to be endangered most of all through the *historical criticism*. Without entering upon the "tendential" hyper-criticism, it seems actually for the pious laic consciousness, to say nothing of the consciousness of the professional apologist, an impossibility, to be reconciled to investigations that think to recognize in the history of the childhood of Jesus, in the history of his baptism and temptation, in the history of his resurrection and ascension, etc., not history, but myths and legends; that think that a real history of Jesus can be wrought out only through critical operations. If now, on the one hand, the popular faith is repelled through such critical inquiries and, on the other hand, the positive theology employs all its powers in trying to dispel the appearance of contradictions and improbabilities and to establish the strict credibility of the biblical history,¹ the contradiction between faith and science seems, in fact, to be merely the contradiction between "revelation and criticism," and the emphatic intervention of "faith" in the efforts of critical science seems to be justified. On the other hand, historical investigation in general, not biblical alone, has in our time become incomparably more thorough,—it deals strictly and rigorously with the historical truth; it tests the sources, and is not content until authentic proofs for a fact lie before it, and until the persons and events *themselves*, and not alone through the mediation of a popular tradition or of a pragmatist historian, speak to it. Before this inexorable criticism many facts in every depart-

Popular
faith and
hyper-criticism.

Advance of
historical
criticism.

¹ Of those that set in motion the convenient means of anathemas and suspicions, we do not here speak at all.

Facts and documents of Christianity subjected to criticism.

ment of history have already shown themselves to be legendary, many chronical traditions to be uncertain, and many documents to be unguenine. The *facts* of Christianity, as well as the *documents* that bear witness to the facts, are subjected to this critical procedure. But against just this a protest is raised on the part of the religious consciousness: with human and natural facts, and with human sources, says one, such a critical procedure may be justified, but not in connection with *supernatural* facts and *divine* sources! But *that* those facts are supernatural and these sources not human, but divine, is just an assumption, that needs critical testing. If the *religious* view is justified in regarding the Bible as *divine*, and the facts narrated therein as *supernatural*, *science* has just as much right to seek to conceive of the biblical books as human, and the facts in question as natural. If the interest of *piety* may demand that criticism do not touch the sanctuary of faith, science in turn must bespeak the right to draw everything into the circle of its investigation. Here the *antagonism between the "orthodox" [gläubig] and the critical view and treatment of the Bible* appears at its highest. But what does the "orthodox" [gläubig] view of Scripture mean, when it would have the Bible regarded as a *divine* book? It cannot possibly be meant—if it knows its own mind—that the biblical books were *not* written by men, in the language of men, and, accordingly, with human thoughts and under human historical relations. The biblical writers may have been inspired never so much, yet even the religious view cannot deny that this inspiration must have been mediated through human feelings and thoughts before it became Holy Scriptures, and that all this falls within the province of human critical inquiry. Furthermore, even the most "orthodox" [gläubig] view cannot deny that most of the facts (esp. miracles) that are narrated in the Scriptures are not recounted by eye-witnesses themselves, but that they have had to pass through the medium of popular or ecclesiastical tradition, or through the comprehension of the reporter himself, before they could be reproduced in our

Things that must be admitted by the most orthodox.

Scriptures. Even the religious consciousness, if it be *veracious*, cannot be blind to the phenomena that bear witness to such a rise of biblical information and biblical writings. It would, therefore, be a perfectly fruitless undertaking, if in the interest of "orthodoxy" an intervening meddling with the scientific process should be attempted. On the other hand, critical science also transgresses its limits when it suffers itself to be swayed by the desire to subvert the religious interest. It may overthrow many dogmatic prejudices — it could not, indeed, be otherwise; but it itself is to be governed by no other interest than the bringing to light of the truth with reference to the matters in hand. So also science must never forget that in the ascertaining of certain facts of antiquity — from the nature of our sources — we cannot in many cases go farther than to *probabilities*; call to mind only the most recent elaborations of the life of Jesus. Thus the inquiry may be never so thorough and conscientious, the result may be never so well-grounded and probable; yet in hundreds of cases complete certainty is not to be arrived at. Yet the hope is, to be sure, never to be abandoned of coming ever nearer and nearer to truth and certainty; but the *modesty* that remains conscious of the limits of its knowledge is just as much the duty of the scientific inquirer as of the simple believer. That modesty which is very becoming to every man, and not least to the believer and the man of science, is no weak "mediating theology," but simply a demand of veracity, a *moral* claim. It is such modesty on *both* sides alone also that breaks down the opposition between faith and science, and that makes possible an understanding between the two. Differences, indeed, will always remain, and the interest of faith and science are, and will continue to be, at variance. The gulf between the two can be bridged only in this way: 1) The *religious interest*, conscious of its rights as of its limitations, must confidently submit to science the ascertaining of what Scripture in itself *is and teaches*; 2) *Scientific* inquiry on its part, in the consciousness of its rights as of its limitations, must hold fast and defend

Probabilities in many cases all that can be attained.

Modesty recommended.

How the gulf between religion and science is to be bridged.

its results, so far as they are certain, but so far as they are only probable, must not obtrude them upon faith, and must in general recognize the rights thereof, and 3) Faith must accept the assured results of science from the hand of science, and must reconcile these results with its interests. Thus arises the theological understanding of Scripture.

3. *The Theological Understanding of Scripture.*

a) *The Theological Understanding Proper.*

II. **The Biblical View of God and the World.**

Necessity
of religious
conscious-
ness.

A *living* knowledge of Scripture without religious consciousness is no more possible than a *many-sided and thorough* knowledge thereof without critical, historical, ethnographical information. If to the merely scientific biblical student the Scriptures are simply an interesting object, a proper sympathy of thought and feeling with the biblical author is possible to *him* alone who comes to the author with a religious experience of his own. To him many difficulties and stumbling-blocks vanish spontaneously. It is true, and it has been criticized unjustly, that the theologian, in order to attain to a living understanding of Scripture must himself appropriate the *biblical view of the world and of life*; *not*, of course, in the sense that he should renounce modern culture and civilization, that he should bid farewell to the Copernican view of the universe, that he should ignore the laws of Nature and an immanent development of Nature; nor in the sense that he should ill-advisedly reconcile the two views, accepting the results of modern science, and *at the same time* unwilling to give up the historical nature of the biblical miracles.¹ *Rather*, the biblico-religious view of the world is indispensable to the theologian in the sense that he is to be borne along by *religious reverence* towards God as the infinite

In what
sense the
theologian
is to appro-
priate the
stand-point
of the bibli-
cal writers.

¹ Our author, with many German theologians of the present time, seems to regard miracles if not as impossible at least as so highly improbable as not to be accepted even on the best evidence. It is superfluous to observe that the position is an extremely precarious one, and involves religious interests of a high order. — Tr.

ground of all being, by the *longing for union with him*. Hence the religious consciousness is designated as a process, which is the key to the religious understanding of Scripture. Therefore, not this or that conception of the system of the world and of the relation of God to the world, conditions the religious understanding of Scripture; but the *ethical* character of the individual, by virtue of which he is in a prayerful attitude towards God. We have nothing to do here with the theoretical attitude towards the question as to the transcendence or the immanence of God, but to the *practical* attitude of the heart towards God, that is to say, whether the natural man, with his sensual wilfulness and conceit, has been broken, whether the spiritual aspiration after the ideal and infinite good has been awakened in him. The *consciousness of the opposition between spirit and flesh, between the spiritual and the natural man*, is the *conditio sine qua non* of the living understanding of Scripture. From this consciousness the biblical *theism* will be comprehended; not merely in the sense that God is regarded as the absolute *object*, and a distinction is made between God and the world (the ego), but also so that God is regarded as the absolute *subject* of everything that becomes or happens. If the difference between the natural man and the spiritual man consists in the fact that the former regards *himself* as the centre of all things, but God as such in an extremely theoretical way, to the spiritual man *God* is the centre of all things, from whom he has to derive everything — to whom he has need to refer everything. But just this is also the stand-point of the biblical writer. Even in this general relation it is perfectly true that “the natural man does not know what is of the Spirit of God, but the spiritual man judges everything.” If God, now, is the absolute subject, he is also in the absolute sense the *acting* subject, and all history is in so far God’s history, as everything that has happened comes from God. But as absolute subject God is also the absolute *end* of all things; to him all honor is to be given, and to his glorification everything must minister. Only he for whom this has become a practical truth *understands* the sense of the guiding thoughts

Ethical and practical attitude towards God the chief thing.

Biblical theism.

Why the Scriptures speak so little of "nation, state, humanity," etc.

Biblical idea of the supernatural.

of all Scripture: "I give my honor to no other — I save you for my name's sake, in order that you may know that I am the Lord," etc. Only to him to whom this has become a truth is it clear why the Scriptures speak so little of "nation, state, humanity," and so much of the "people of God," of the "kingdom of heaven," and why the ideas "improvement, civilization, progress," are so foreign to the Scriptures, and, on the other hand, the ideas "conversion, salvation," are so familiar. Only to him to whom the kingdom of God is the highest reality, and men are only means to the realization thereof, to whom the contrast between the public and pompous strivings of men, and the still and apparently insignificant working of God has come to consciousness, is the fundamental idea of the Bible cognizable, that God brings about his great ends through little means (Judges vi. 15 f.; vii. 2-8; 1 Sam. xvii. 31-58; Ex. iv. 10 ff.; Jer. i. 6 ff.; Deut. vii. 7 f.; 1 Cor. i. 26 ff.). So, also — and this is a principal point — the religious man sees in everything the "finger of God"; to him, therefore, everything is a "miracle," most of all, of course, that in which the judging and saving power of God comes most feelingly to his consciousness. Especially is it the *thankful* heart that sees miracles everywhere. Therefore to him also it is comprehensible why God is called "a God of wonders" (Ps. lxxvii. 15; xcvi. 1); to him also the expressions "the hand — the outstretched arm of the Lord" are comprehensible; to him it is also comprehensible how the Scriptures can call things "miracles" which to modern supranaturalism are not miracles; cf. Ps. cxxxix. 14; lxxi. 7; Deut. xxviii. 46; esp. Luke iv. 18, and vii. 22 (πρωτοὶ εὐαγγελίζονται). In this it is not at all said that the religious man overlooks, or in any way denies, the so-called mediate causes; only to him God, as "causa prima," is much more important, and he prefers to derive everything immediately from God, cf. Isa. xlv. 5-7. This religious need of seeing in everything God's works and wonders is the key to the belief in miracles on the part of the biblical writers *in general*. But this is to be distinguished from the

special question as to the supernatural and historical nature of the individual miraculous accounts. In each particular case we must inquire, whether the account is really historical; whether it is susceptible of a natural explanation, i.e. whether mediate causes are to be supplied; whether it has arisen as a legend, or whether it is symbolical, i.e. the historical embodiment of an idea. The "miracle" is not a physical or a metaphysical, but a religious conception. Science has to do with ideas, religion, with devotion. When, therefore, we demand that the Scripture interpreter make his own the biblical view of the world and of life, we reject neither historical criticism nor natural science and its undoubted results, but we merely assert the devotional attitude towards the eternal and adorable ground of all things — the *ethical* attitude of life towards God. This, of course, cannot but have influence on the *theoretical* conception of the world; but just as little as the scientific knowledge of nature excludes admiration, does the educated view of the world exclude the religious view, which sees in every act of God, relatively a "miracle." And just as little as the critical study of history excludes the ideal impulse to find in history *divine* reason and divine thoughts, does the critical examination of the biblical facts exclude the belief that we have here to do with spiritual and divine facts. The one, namely, is the *empirical* investigation of special features, the other the comprehensive, ideal consideration of what has been empirically investigated. The two processes cannot easily, to be sure, go on simultaneously, but they are, indeed, to be conducted successively. Just as faith — in which devotion and thought are still at one — abstains from thinking and desiring to understand, so in the healthy soul understanding and conceiving return into the unity of the *scientifically mediated faith*.

The miracle
a religious
conception.

12. Biblical Anthropomorphisms and Anthropopathisms.

The anthropomorphic and the anthropopathic manner in which the Bible frequently speaks of God is a stumbling-block to the educated consciousness. Here, at least, it seems not to be possible that the interpreter should become at one with Scrip-

Ground of
anthropo-
morphisms.

ture. It is true, of course, that anthropomorphisms and anthropopathisms have their ground in great part in the sensuous and uncultured conceptions of God; that they are most frequent and most crude in the most ancient parts of Scripture, more rare in the later writings.¹ But if we admit that even in the older parts of the Old Testament very spiritual and exalted conceptions of God occur (cf. Gen. i. 3; Ps. viii.; xxxiii. 9; Lev. xix. 2; Num. xxiii. 19, et al.), and on the other hand, that in the New Testament, and particularly in the discourses of Jesus, nay, even in the Johannean discourses of Christ, anthropomorphisms are not rare (cf. Matt. xviii. 10; Luke xi. 5-13; xv. 4-10, 20-32; xviii. 1-8; John x. 29; xiv. 2, 16; xvii. 4); we cannot attribute these sensuous ways of speaking simply to the incapacity of the authors to rise to a spiritual idea of God. The matter rather stands thus: Strong and pervasive as is the Scripture writers' consciousness of the exaltation and holiness of God, of the insignificance and sinfulness of the human creature, yet just as much a matter of fact with most of them is *intercourse* with God. The effect of this familiar association is that they are able without detracting from their idea of God to converse humanly, and, so to speak, naïvely with God. In general these anthropomorphic and anthropopathic expressions are never didactically intended, but are *reflections of what the soul has learned from God, on the conception of God, hypostatizings of religious experiences*; so especially the expressions: anger of God, zeal of God, compassion, repentance of God (1 Sam. xv. 11; Ps. cvi. 45; Amos vii. 3, 6; John iii. 9, 10). In general the conviction presses itself upon the attentive and thorough biblical student, that the sacred authors have to do with very *realistic and corporeal* conceptions, and that we, with our striving after abstractions and distinctions, are not competent to think and feel with the Prophets and Apostles, or, if we would, we must think otherwise than we are accustomed to think. (Cf. the passage cited on p. 78 from Rothe's

Character
of the an-
thropomor-
phic ex-
pressions.

¹ This seems to me rather doubtful (so far as the Old Testament is concerned). Is there more of this in Genesis than in Kings, e.g.? — TR.

preface to Auberlen's "Ch. F. Oetinger.") But here it is well to discriminate between realistic ideas that have originated by way of distinguishing and fixing comprehension (dogmatic ideas), and realistic ideas that are the product of feeling and of fantasy. In Scripture the first kind is scarcely to be found at all, while ideas of the second kind are altogether predominant; for that which man comes to experience as revelation and a divine event, appears in his soul, first of all, in the form of feeling and fantasy, and is vivid and powerful only so long as it is therein present in this form. Just *in this* consists the difference between the biblical and the ecclesiastical form of religious truth, that the former has still the living and fresh form of immediateness, but the latter has in itself the rationally reflecting form. Thus *biblical* truth may be compared to the fresh, growing plant, *ecclesiastical* truth to the dried plants in the herbarium of the botanist. Instead of any more elaborate proof, we cite only the one idea, "spirit" (*πνεῦμα*),—an idea that differs just as much through its realism from the usual modern idea as through its vividness and fluidity from the ecclesiastical. The realism of the biblical writers is explicable from the fact that their view is that of faith—and that for faith *the ideal is the truly real*, cf. Heb. xi. 1 ff. Only the believer understands believing, and distinguishes it as well from the paganism of mere abstraction as from the Judaism of doctrinal ecclesiasticism, or of mere orthodoxy. In the determination of the biblical idea in general this is not to be left out of account; it is first arrived at in a purely philological way, but the understanding of this idea is only won from within, i.e. from the connection of the method of thought of the biblical author, when we can identify ourselves with him, i.e. can sympathize with him. Cf. *Zetzschwitz*, as above. *Cremer*, *Biblico-theological Lexicon of the New Testament Greek*.

Distinction
between
dogmatic
and reli-
gious ideas.

13. Biblical Writings to be studied in their Relations.

Yet we have to do not alone with the religious understanding of the biblical views in general, nor with that of the individual thoughts and ideas, but we must also be able to think and feel

What is pre- supposed. ourselves into the *whole of a definite biblical writing*. This also presupposes, indeed, all the exegetical and critical operations, but also sympathy with the religious situation and disposition of the author. The difficulty here consists chiefly in the difference of situations and of religious stand-points. He that can think himself into a Paul will hardly be able to think himself into a James; nay, only with painstaking into the Synoptic discourses of Jesus; or he that can do the latter will scarcely be able to throw himself into the Johannean manner of thinking and feeling. And yet the exegete is to be able to do this! How will it be possible to him who is also afflicted with limitations of *individuality* to think himself into the various writers, and thus, so to speak, to become a *universal* man? Two conditions are requisite for this: 1) *historical sense*, which is able to think itself into different times, places, and individualities, — a sense that is acquired through study and practice, and 2) *religious ripeness*, which has in itself lived through the various stages of religious development.

Requisites: historical sense; religious ripeness.

Two examples: Let us make this clear by two examples, and that, too, by such as through their diversity, yes, contrast, strain the problem to its highest: the *Epistle to the Galatians* and the *Epistle of James*. The religious understanding of the Apostle Paul, and particularly of the Epistle to the Galatians, on the part of Luther, springing, as it did, from true spiritual relationship, is known to all, and even the exegete of the nineteenth century will draw rich instruction and edification from his explanation of this Epistle. Whatever advance has been made upon this is due partly to the philological understanding resting on better linguistic knowledge, partly to the historical understanding purified through historical criticism. We know how Paul came to believe in Christ and to the Apostolic calling in an altogether different way from the primitive Apostles; not through personal association with Jesus, but through a sudden illumination; not through a deepening of Judaism, but through *breaking* with Judaism. We know that on his mission to the Gentiles — without making the Gentiles first proselytes to Judaism — he

Paul vs. James.

Synoptics vs. John.

Galatians.

simply and immediately converted them to faith in Christ, in which he himself had found justification before God and peace, and that he received them upon this their faith, without further ceremony, into the Christian communion. So had he also proclaimed the gospel in Galatia, and — notwithstanding the bodily infirmity under which he labored at that time — had found joyful acceptance and living response (Gal. iv. 13–15). Now he that knows what it costs to convert men to Christ and to found a Christian community (see *Luther*, Com. ad I. 6), and what a union of hearts such a longing for souls must have produced between the preacher of the gospel and the people, can throw himself into the whole pain and discomfiture of the former when, now, others, coming under the pretence of a better gospel and of the true orthodoxy, throw suspicion on *the* doctrine and *the* teacher through which this community has arrived at the saving faith, and bring forward, now, their legal observances and burdens as the *conditio salutis*: Paul has to do not merely with a conflict of views, not merely with a question of the priority of activity, but with the paternal relation to the community, nay, with the most sacred experience and vital certainty (Gal. i. 11 ff.). So, then, it is based entirely on the nature of the situation, that he should bring home to the hearts of his readers this certainty of his as a fruit of the decisive epoch of his life, as a work of God in himself, which has made itself known as such through the miraculous conversion which he has experienced (i. 11–24). But because his opponents appealed to the standard authority of the primitive Apostles, the pillars of the church, — and rightly indeed, so far as the essence of the point of view is concerned, — the Apostle has now the task, as the need, to show that he has brought about a recognition of his gospel even on the part of those highly esteemed primitive Apostles, i.e. that they were obliged to look upon his mission to the Gentiles as divinely justified, and to recognize the equal validity of Jewish and Gentile conversion; and that he himself has earnestly reproved Peter, pillar of the church as he was, on account of his wavering. The latter circumstance

must be so much the more important to the Apostle by as much as, there as here, the cardinal question at stake was, whether salvation depends on faith in Christ or on the observance of the institutions of the law. To him that, as Paul, has found in the law death, and in faith life, a return to the law can only appear a renunciation of faith — an apostasy from Christ (ii. 19–21). But finally, to the Galatian communicants themselves, who had suffered themselves to be seduced to the legal Christianity, it could and must be proved that the legal religion has not the power to make alive, for which he could appeal to his own experience (iii. 1–5), nor the true sense of the Old Testament itself (iii. 6 ff.), nor the ground and aim of God's way of salvation (iii. 15 ff.). If his personal experiences were for the Apostle himself sufficient proofs of the truth of his gospel, and might be also for his readers, yet the relation demanded that it should be demonstrated to them, *ad hominem*, how ungrounded and wrong was their turning away from his gospel to the legal religion; hence, the appeal to their own religious experience, to the witness of the Old Testament, hence the explanation of the whole divine plan of salvation, and of the relation of the law thereto, etc. From the state of faith and of grace alone could the Apostle — and can men in general — win this insight into the connection of the counsel of God, i.e. into the temporary and pedagogical significance of the legal religion. Only with *this* insight and explanation are the adversaries completely refuted, and the superiority of the Pauline gospel over that of the adversaries shown. Thus to him that can sympathize with the Apostle is the interest and the importance of the Pauline deduction in the Epistle to the Galatians disclosed.

The Epistle
of James.

But how, now, is it with the *Epistle of James*? how can the latter teach truth, if the doctrine of the Epistle to the Galatians is true? Must not the Epistle of James appear of necessity a “strawy Epistle” to him that has sympathetically penetrated into this? The difficulty is surmounted partly by a correct historical perception, partly by a ripe religious experi-

How the
difficulty is
surmounted

ence. From the Synoptic Gospels it follows with certainty that the Pauline antithesis of the works of the law and faith was entirely foreign to Jesus, in that to him the Mosaic law was lost in the pure will of God, and that he also distinguished the Israelites as "the children of the kingdom" from the Gentiles. So far, therefore, the primitive Apostles, Jewish Christians, were entirely in the right when they held fast to the essential unity of Mosaism and Christianity. Only in this they remained behind the Master, that he had recognized the priority of the people of the law as conditioned, and as to be taken away through the unbelief of the Jews themselves; but *they* maintained this priority as unconditioned, and did not see, as he did, the decisive factor in susceptibility to the gospel of the kingdom of God. When now, Paul, without having seen and heard the Lord himself,¹ came forward with his gospel, brought faith into prominence *in opposition to* the law, and through his immediate acceptance of the Gentiles seemed to display a depreciating estimate of the people of the covenant, they could see in this only an apostasy from the true religion. Now, of course, it was very possible and obvious that, where there was no right consciousness of sin and no true repentance, Paulinism should degenerate into *antinomianism*, and furnish inducement to a moral laxity and an unfruitful dogmatism. This must have been the condition of the readers — doubtless schooled in Paulinism² — of this Epistle. No wonder, that this Apostolic man felt himself impelled to enter a protest against such pseudo-Christianity, and to bring before the hearts of his readers the practical Christianity which is summed up in the royal command of love. It is really an often-confirmed fact, that lack of moral earnestness and dependence on dogmatizing go hand in hand, and that, e.g. the preaching of justification through faith, if it is not based upon repentance,

¹ That is, before his ascension. — Tr.

² There seems to be some ground for believing that the Epistle of James was written very early, before the development of the Pauline theology. — Tr.

ministers to an antinomian dogmatism. He that has experienced this in himself, or observed it in others, *understands* the Epistle of James. These two examples may suffice to show, that only the union of the exegetico-historical study with a profound sympathy with the biblical author leads to the perfect understanding of Scripture.

β) Impartation of the Theological Understanding to Others.
(Cf. I. § 7).

14. Essential Elements.

Just as only he possesses the right understanding of his author who thinks what the author thought and as he thought it, so also only he *furnishes* correct understanding of his author who puts the hearers in a condition to think what he thought and as he thought it. If we apply this proposition to the explanation of the New Testament, it is clear, that the interpreter can only then introduce others into the complete understanding of Scripture when he himself is in possession as well of the scientifically mediated religious understanding as also of the talent for exegetical teaching. We are concerned especially with impartation to *learners of the science*, hence with the *scientific-theological* impartation. Here it may happen that one exegetical teacher pays attention chiefly to the philological in the narrower sense, another to the logical combination of thoughts, a third to the real features, a fourth preponderatingly to the practical-religious understanding. There is little objection to this, provided that the main object of interpretation does not suffer thereby. But with regard to the last-mentioned direction, we must guard earnestly against the so-called interpretation of Scripture which loads the thoughts of the author with pious reflections, and thus thinks to introduce the readers or hearers to the understanding thereof. This is not interpreting the author, but overwhelming him. It would be altogether perverse if such reflections should be thought to make superfluous the scientific ascertaining of the sense, and "spiritual" Scripture interpretation should be put in the place of this as the

Religious understanding pre-requisite to religious impartation.

Pious reflections not interpretation

so-called worldly interpretation. No interpretation, however pious and spiritual it may be, is worth anything if it be not based on scientific exegetical work ; for only this proceeds from the earnest and upright intention to understand and to make intelligible the *author*. The hearers also should be convinced and know that the understanding of Scripture is attainable no otherwise than through conscientious *work*. On the other hand also, the exegete who imparts to his hearers only matter pertaining to textual criticism, grammar, and archaeology cannot boast of having explained the author to them, and of having introduced them into the author's sense and spirit. The biblical author meant to impart *thoughts*, and to bring about a *religious effect*, and such also should be the aim of the biblical *interpreter*. Only then can he regard his exegetical work as complete, when it has reached, as its end and result, the religious understanding on the part of the hearers. Only let nobody suppose that this is attainable through pious talking, or that it is something apart. The interpreter must have so identified himself with the spirit of his author, that his exegetical discourse — without many religious words — may make upon the susceptible hearer the impression designed to be received from the religious spirit of the author. Nowhere is laconicism, as it is found, e.g. in Bengel's Gnomon, better applied than here. The religious thought must fall into the bosom of the hearer as the ripe fruit, so to speak, of the exegetical work.

Conscientious work the only means to the true understanding of Scripture

Laconicism here in place.

15. Method of Procedure.

The exegetical discourse must be as much as possible an *unfolding*. The inductive method alone is here suitable. The interpreter must cause the thought of the author to arise gradually before the eyes of his hearers, and must never lose sight of the aim — the understanding of the author. It is, indeed, natural that one exegete should pay chief attention to textual criticism, another to the linguistic features, a third to the logical course of thought, a fourth to the historical and real, another, finally, to the religious and practical aspect, and should treat *his speciality* the most exhaustively and with the most concern.

The inductive method alone suitable.

Specialties
how far jus-
tifiable.

Passages
that require
special
thorough-
ness of
treatment.

To this there is no objection; only the principal matter or the aim with regard to the passage under consideration must not be lost sight of; not simply because the hearers have a right to expect that *this* chiefly is given to them, but also because the object of exegesis itself demands it. Specialties such as those named have always had their perfect right, and find, as heretofore, their proper place. On the other hand, there may be occasions in the text itself through which one is tempted to lose sight of the aim of the explanation: such are especially *difficult or disputed passages*, as John viii. 25; xviii. 28; Rom. v. 7; Gal. iii. 19, 20; James iv. 5. That such passages require a more searching treatment, is self-evident; yet the interpreter must confine himself to what is most essential, if he would not thereby injure the connection too much; unless he has laid down as his object the special explanation of such a passage. It is otherwise with longer passages, which form by themselves, as it were, a whole, as Luke xvi. 1 ff., 19 ff.; Rom. v. 12-21; 1 Cor. xv. 1-11; Phil. ii. 5-11. To say nothing of the fact that such passages claim an independent treatment, and are treated independently (cf. among others R. Rothe's excellent explanation of Rom. v. 12-21), the understanding of such a passage is an essential part of the understanding of Scripture in general. But passages also that are not precisely difficult, but are *important* for the understanding of the author in question, require a more elaborate treatment. Passages of this kind are Rom. iii. 21-31; viii. 1-4; 1 Cor. xii. 1-11; 2 Cor. iii. 12-18; Gal. ii. 1-10, 11-21, et al. In such cases the exegetical apparatus, properly sifted, and in greater completeness, is to be brought into application. Whether the religious contents is to be made prominent in a special way or not depends on the nature of the public, and on the object had in view.

16. Impartation to an unlearned Audience.

Apart from the scientific, the interpreter may pursue a purely *practical* object. This is naturally the case with a public in great part unlearned and promiscuous, i.e. with Christian churches. That here all impartation of learned apparatus is to

be dispensed with has already been said (I. § 7), and is self-evident. But he that would infer from this that for a practical Scripture interpretation no scientific equipment and preparation is requisite would find himself in a great error. The practical as well as the scientific interpreter of Scripture has to set forth the *sense* of Scripture, which is always the same. The difference between the two consists not in the fact that the subject is different, but in the fact that the scientific mediation is given in the one place, in the other withheld, and that there the religious sense and contents are rather assumed. here they are imparted *ex professo*. The more thoroughly the practical theologian is versed in the study of Scripture, and the more maturely he has wrought out the passage of Scripture in question, the better and more practical, under the presupposition of adequate religious knowledge of men and aptness to teach, will be his *ex-position*. Not Scripture as such, it is true, but the *word of God in Scripture*, is the preacher to bring near to his hearers, and he must continually be mindful of the *purposes* for which Scripture was given us (2 Tim. iii. 16). The more he himself lives therein, the better will he teach and preach; and the more he identifies himself with his hearers the less tiresome and the more practical will be his discourse. But he can identify himself with his hearers not on the ground of his scientifically acquired theological stand-point, but only on the common *need of salvation*. Yet it is not to be denied that the theological *knowledge* of the preacher may come in conflict with the popular *faith* of his church. I call attention only to cases where he runs upon mistakes in the ecclesiastical (resp. Lutheran) translation of the Bible; where spurious passages occur in the ecclesiastical text; where passages that are evidently legendary are found; where differences of the doctrinal conception of the authors are not to be overlooked. The wisdom of the preacher and carer for souls, who understands the state of the case, will yet easily overcome these difficulties, simply correcting the evident faults of the Bible translation, passing over the spurious passages (esp. 1 John v. 7), leaving

Preparation as necessary for ex-pounding Scripture to the uneducated as to the educated.

How the preacher is identified with his hearers.

Method of dealing with errors of translation, spurious passages, etc., in an authorized version.

untouched others (as John viii. 1-11, which passage is spurious, indeed, but historically in no way incredible) for the sake of this latter reason, and finally letting stand likewise other passages (as the doxology, Matt. vi. 13), which are, as it were, ecclesiastically sanctioned, — since we have to do here not with a theological, but simply with a religious understanding. More difficult is the treatment of such passages as obtrude themselves upon the theologian as unhistorical, as the *Evangelium infantiac*, part of the history of the Resurrection, and others. But this subject is not at all appropriate for discussion before the church, but is rather to be treated in private conversations, while in public discourse not the history as such, but the ideal contents of the narrative is to be impressed upon the hearts of the hearers. In general in such cases we are to proceed rather positively than negatively, since for the *οικοδομή* of the individuals and of the church, and not in the first instance for the enlightening of the same, is he there.¹

Method of
dealing
with popu-
lar theolog-
ical errors.

But how is it with the doctrinal differences? The hearers in general, such especially as have been schooled in orthodoxy, regard the Scriptures as an organic whole, equally inspired in all its parts, while the educated theologian must regard this notion as erroneous. In general the preacher will rarely have occasion to enter upon these differences. It is a mistake in any case, e.g. to explain the Sermon on the Mount or a passage from John in a Pauline way. Each passage is rather to be explained from *its* connection and from the *spirit of the* writer, to whom it belongs. Should the practical expositor find it necessary or to his purpose to refer to the diverse doctrine, he should do this only in the conclusion, and should show how the two are related to each other, how they may be explained historically, and how they are resolvable into a higher third doctrine. Yet this can occur only before a very cultured audience. It depends here in general upon the nature of the audience, upon their culture and their religious position.

¹ Is *οικοδομή* necessarily an antithesis of "enlightening, instructing"? This latter seems really to be an essential element of the former. — TR.

The better the preacher knows these the more certain will he be to steer aright in all such cases.

17. Kinds of Practical Impartation.

The practical treatment of Scripture is manifold: *Bible meditation*, as it is exercised in narrower circles, is most closely connected with exegesis proper. Here, of course, the sense and the course of thought of the sacred author are the principal thing. With this in view the interpreter must have so penetrated into the author, that the latter has become as well exegetically and historically clear to him as also religiously vivid. But because the practical interpreter must aim with his explanation of the Bible at a single impression, he has to sum up in the conclusion, as the final theme, the interpretation in a principal thought. The same holds true of the so-called *homilies*, in which the passage of Scripture is to be well pondered according to its course of thought and organism, as well as according to its relation to the hearers and the present. It is otherwise with the *sermon* proper. It has, indeed, also already been asked, whether the sermon is to be essentially Scripture interpretation or the synthetical treatment of a single thought. The question is to be decided in the latter sense, inasmuch as here, where as a rule the church is assembled and the moment a solemn one, still more than in the foregoing cases, a single arousing impression is to be made. Only the passage of Scripture and its exposition must be the means to this end. The text must never be a mere *pre-text*, since the preacher, as his hearers, is to proceed from the presupposition that the word of God in the Scriptures is a word for all time and for all essential ethical-religious needs. The theme must, therefore, invariably be derived from the text itself. The difference, never of course to be underestimated, between the relations of the New Testament time and those of the present demands, indeed, the reduction of the biblical thought to the thought of the present. Very often, therefore, what the author has said with reference to a special relation of his time must be *generalized*, and this general thought must again be *specialized* in reference to the

Bible meditation.

Homilies.

Sermons.

The text not to be made a mere pre-text.

relations of the present. Yet will the deeper and finer references of the Scripture word to the needs of the present furnish themselves so much the more unsought to him that has rightly penetrated into the Scriptures.

18. Conclusion.

The laic
conscious-
ness.

In the practical treatment of the Bible the scientific-theological understanding of Scripture is reconciled with the laic consciousness. From this we proceeded conceiving of it, as we did, as desiring to learn and to understand; then we showed how this *willing* to understand becomes through the exegetical work *ability* to understand; and finally, we have given a hint as to how the scientific understanding acquired through study becomes religious for the interpreter himself and for others. Accordingly, the exegetical work is 1) a purely *scientific* work, which is itself law, and as such it has for its object a) not only the understanding of Scripture considered in a purely historical way, but it furnishes also β) the material for biblical philology, for the history of primitive Christianity, and for biblical theology; 2) the exegetical work is also a *practical* work, and rests as such on scientific investigation.

Summary
statement
of the exe-
getical
work.

Correlation
of the scien-
tific and
practical
treatment
of Scripture

Through this process the spirit of the New Testament is made serviceable to the Christian church, and the church is built up on the words of Christ and the Apostles. The scientific and the practical treatment must always join hands; for neither is at present a sound and substantial understanding of Scripture possible without thorough scientific investigation, nor is a correct theological understanding possible without practical sympathy and without a living appropriation of the biblical thoughts and truths. The mediation between the scientific and the practical understanding of Scripture is *preaching*. But this presupposes the mediation of the two in the heart of the preacher, i.e. the *theological* understanding. But the organism of the Christian church also presupposes the variety of *χρίσματα* and the suitable *activity* of the same, and this in such a manner that some busy themselves preponderatingly and ex

Preaching a
mediation
between the
scientific
and the
practical
understand-
ing.

professo with the *scientific*, and some chiefly with the practical treatment of Scripture; and just as the practical interpretation of Scripture in turn will be with one more a prophetic interpretation, with another more a didactic, and again with others more a parenetic, so the scientific treatment of Scripture divides itself again into a more critical, or philological, or historical, or doctrinal. Each has its right in the organism of the sciences and in the organism of the Christian church itself. Just as mutual interchange and harmonious co-operation of the various branches of science cannot but be advantageous to these branches, *so the health of the Christian church depends essentially upon the mutual confidence and harmonious co-operation of men of theological science and men of theological praxis.*

APPENDIX.

THE following summary of the leading peculiarities of New Testament Greek Grammar is from notes taken upon the class lectures of Prof. *John A. Broadus*, D.D., LL.D., of the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary. Dr. Broadus has been a life-long and critical student of New Testament Greek, and has a treasury of valuable grammatical notes, which it is hoped he will at no very distant day find occasion to publish. While Dr. Broadus kindly granted permission to use the notes here presented, he is not in any way responsible for the translation. — Tr.

SUMMARY OF THE LEADING PECULIARITIES OF NEW TESTAMENT GREEK GRAMMAR.

FROM THE NOTES OF PROF. JOHN A. BROADUS, D.D., LL.D.

The *sources* of peculiarity are *four*:

1. The *basis* is *later* Greek, chiefly in the colloquial form. This affects both words and constructions.
2. The *Hebrew* and *Aramaic* tinge, which arises partly from *reading* Hebrew, and partly from *speaking* Aramaic. This affects, 1) words, 2) constructions.
3. Latin words and phrases, not affecting the Syntax, but only introducing a certain number of new words and phrases, imitated in the Greek.
4. *New meanings* of words, and new compounds, to express new Christian ideas. (Peculiarities more largely lexical than grammatical).

A. PECULIARITIES AS TO FORMS.

See Winer, and the additions in Moulton's translation.

B. PECULIARITIES AS TO SYNTAX.

1. *The Article.*

1. Frequent omission of the Article when an *appended Genitive* makes the phrase sufficiently definite. This is an *imperfect* Hebraism. It accords with the following: the Article *must* be omitted in Hebrew, when there is what is equivalent to a Genitive, etc. Hence this is only *partly* conformed to Hebrew usage.

2. Omission of the Article with a Noun made *definite* by *usage*, as, e.g. πνεῦμα, γραφή, κ. τ. λ., *especially* when preceded by a *Preposition*. This is a mere extension of the Classical usage, and is not a Hebraistic peculiarity. Cf. σελήνη, γῆ, κ. τ. λ.

3. Again, *Attributive clauses* (Prep. with Noun) are often appended to a Noun without *repeating* the Article. This usage is not found in Attic. Here the *natural relation*, or the *known facts*, must suggest the attributive force.

4. Finally, εἷς is used in a few instances where it is scarcely distinguishable from the English Indefinite Article.

2. *As to the Pronouns.*

1. The Personal Pronoun, in the Nominative, is used more freely and thus with less emphasis. Its absence may be strongly insisted on as showing that there is no emphasis; but its presence more *cautiously* as *indicative* of emphasis, because of its freer use in the New Testament.

2. The use of αὐτός in the Nominative. See Winer and Buttmann.

3. A Hebraistic use, by which we have a *Relative* followed by a *Personal Pronoun* later in the sentence. This is very rare in Classic writers.

4. In general, the *Personal* and *Demonstrative* Pronouns are often employed for the sake of explicitness and circumstantiality where the earlier Greek would omit them as unnecessary.

3. *As to Nouns (Substantives).*

1. The *Dual* is NOT used.

2. The *Nominative* is often used in addresses, like the *Vocative*.

3. The Genitive of *quality* is often used instead of an Adjective. Imperfect Hebraism.

4. The *Preposition* is often added to a *case*, where Classical Greek would have the *case alone*.

4. *As to the Verb.*

1. It is doubtful whether the Perfect and the Aorist are ever confounded in the New Testament. *Winer* admits such confusion in two or three cases of the use of the Perfect, but in none of them is it a necessary supposition, and of course we should shrink from such an acknowledgment unless *necessary*. The confusion is all due to *our* use of the Perfect where the Greek *prefers* the Aorist. (Notice Paul's use of the Aorist).

2. *Ἰνα* and the *Subjunctive* is frequently used in what is called the *subfinal* sense. This appears to have been an early Greek usage, intermitted in the Classical period and revived in later Greek. It is *never* used (in the New Testament) in the *Eventual* or *Ecbatic* sense. In the common final (Telic) sense it is sometimes used with the *Indicative Future*, and even with the *Indicative Present*.

3. The Optative is but little employed. Scarcely even in the *oratio obliqua*.

4. The use of *τοῦ* + the Infinitive is *frequent* and *varied*,—much more so than in Classical Greek.

5. So the Infinitive, in *oblique* cases, governed by a Preposition is much more frequent than in Classical Greek. An imperfect Hebraism, being *very rare* in Classical, *very common* in New Testament Greek.

6. The use of the Particle *ἄν* is *less copious* and diversified, and it is never used with the Participle.

7. The Future tense is more frequently employed in commands and prohibitions. An imperfect Hebraism.

8. The *Future Participle* is *rarely* employed to express purpose. This is a favorite *Classical* construction.

9. Peculiar use of *ἐγένετο* followed by an Accusative + Infinitive, by *ὄτι* + Indicative, and even by the Indicative without *ὄτι*. An imperfect — though *almost* perfect — Hebraism. Cf. *וַיֵּשֶׁב*. Rare and strange in Classical Greek.

5. *As to Prepositions.*

1. Verbs compounded with Prepositions are more used, and the Preposition is more frequently repeated after a compound Verb.

2. Further, *ἐν* is oftener used of *means* or *instrument*. Imperfect

Hebraism. Also a greater abundance of *figurative* significations of ἐν, as 'sphere,' 'element,' 'ground,' etc. This is partly of Hebrew and partly of Christian origin. (ἐν and Paul's ἐν Χριστῷ, etc.).

6. *As to Conjunctions.*

1. Καί is *often* used where Classical Greek would have a more *distinctive* Conjunction. This is an imperfect Hebraism in part, and partly due to the general tendency of simple colloquial style in all languages. (Notice the children, "and . . . and . . . and," etc.).

2. Ἄρα is more used; is stronger, and not necessarily postpositive.

3. A number of Conjunctions used in Classical Greek to express nice distinctions are not used in the New Testament.

7. *As to Adverbs.*

1. A peculiar use of πᾶς followed at an interval by οὐ. A Hebraism.

2. A more frequent use of οὐ in Conditional phrases.

3. Οὐ less frequently used with Participles, and not at all with the Infinitive.

8. *As to the Structure of Sentences.*

Anacolutha are somewhat frequent, particularly in Paul; but not more so than in Classical writers.

There are various irregularities in the Apocalypse, partly Hebraistic; partly colloquial; and partly due to the intense passion which leads the writer to forget grammar.

The peculiarities are mostly those of words and phrases, i.e. Lexical.

It is important to know these facts as to the peculiarities of New Testament Greek,

1. For *Scientific* reasons: correct exegesis, etc.

2. For *Controversial* reasons: the New Testament not a distinct dialect, etc., but to be treated according to the rules of Classical Greek.



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NOTE. — This Index, it will be observed, includes only those passages that are treated at some length, and hence by no means all that are touched upon or referred to. — **Tr.**

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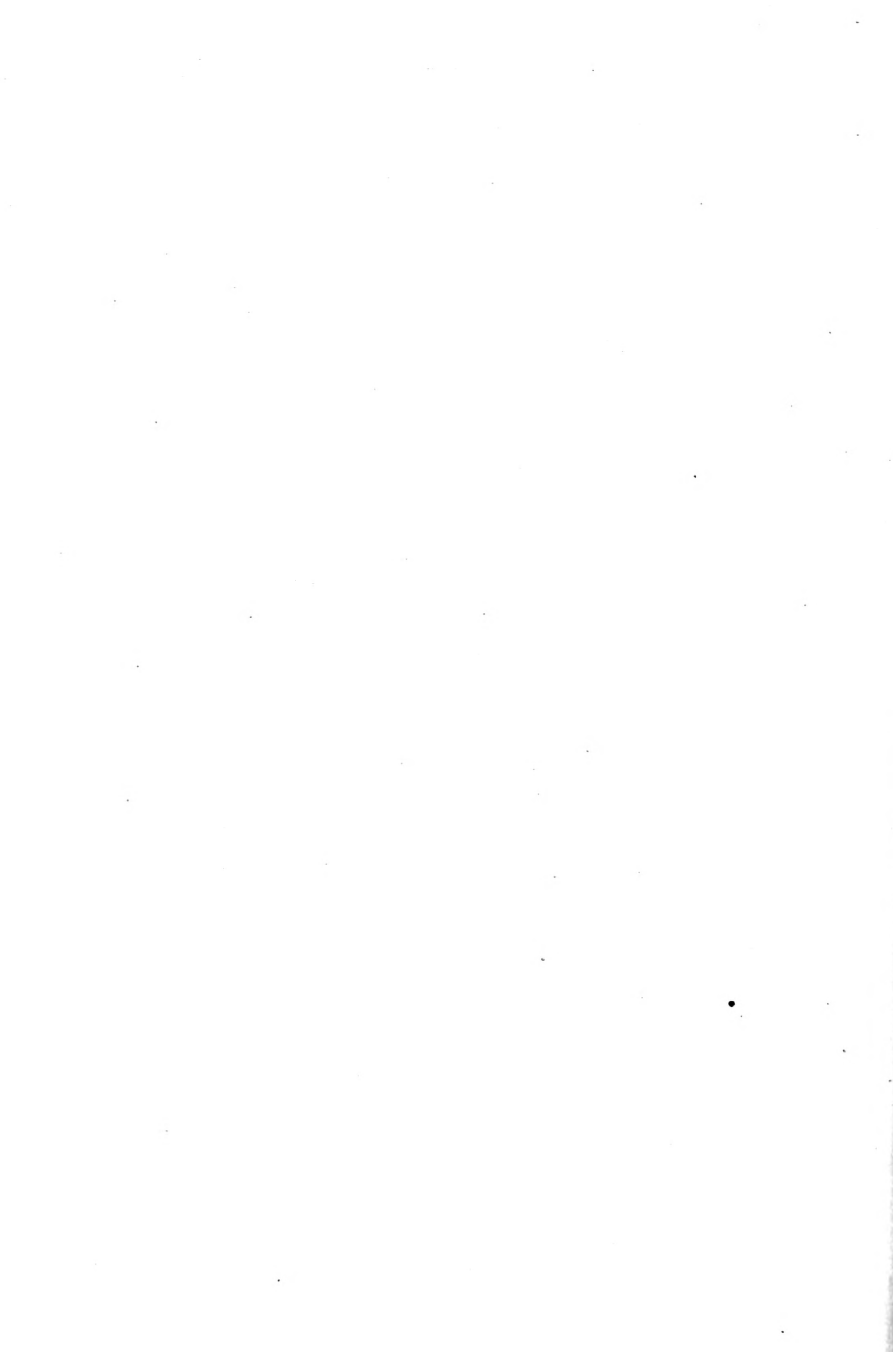
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NOTE. — In the final revision for the press a number of omissions of a word — in two or three instances of a clause — have been discovered, which could not be easily inserted in the plates. As none of these omissions are important to the sense, it is not thought necessary to subjoin a table of errata. — TR.



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